OF THE

Incurable Scepticism

OF THE

CHURCH

OF

ROME.

Translated from M. de Placette and published by Dr Tenison Archbp. of Canterbury.

IMPRIMATUR.

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Clark

PREFACE.

AMong the manifold accuſations, with which the Papiſts are wont to defame our moſt holy Religion, there is none which they oftner alledge, or more ſeriouſly endeavour to evince, or confirm with more plauſible arguments, than that whereby they pretend that we utterly overthrow all certainty in divine matters, and conſequently Faith it ſelf. This is the conſtant ſubject of their Writings and Diſcourſes, this is of late their only argument. To obviate therefore theſe importunate clamours, I reſolved throughly to examin the whole Argument; and inquire whether there be any truth in thoſe things which many obtrude for moſt certain. Having then with ſome diligence conſidered the matter, I ſoon found, firſt that thoſe things are falſe and and frivolous, which are commonly oppoſed to us; and then that our Adverſaries themſelves are manifeſtly guilty of that crime, wherewith they aſperſe us, and can by no Arts be purged from it. For both that celebrated infallibility of the Church and of her Governours, upon which the whole Syſtem of Popiſh Faith relies, is eaſily proved to be null and feigned, and that even if it were true, it could yet produce no aſſurance of Faith, no certainty of belief. To evidence and evince all this I thought not unfit; and therefore have undertaken to demonſtrate theſe three things.

I. That it is moſt falſe what is pretended with ſo much confidence, that the Church, at leaſt in the ſence by them underſtood, cannot erre.

II. That granting the Church cannot erre, this her Infallibility is of that nature, that both it ſelf labours with inextricable difficulties, and can confer certainty upon nothing elſe.

III. That our Faith relieth upon far more firm foundations; and that nothing is believed by us, which is not both certain in it ſelf, and ſuch as the certainty of it cannot be unknown by us.

Of these three Propositions, which may in time, God willing, be demonstrated, I have now undertaken the Second, because that may be comprehended in a much shorter Discourse than the rest. I will shew therefore in this Treatise, that the least assurance of those things, which are believed, is wanting to the Popish Religion; and that all things are there doubtful, all things uncertain, and nothing firm. This altho it be most true in the Agenda *also of their Religion; yet to avoid prolixity I confined my self to the* Credenda *only, and even in these omitted many things, which might perhaps seem not inconsiderable to many. For not one or two ways only doth the Roman Religion overthrow the firmness of Faith: It doth it upon many accounts, principally by their Doctrine of the Eucharist, which introduces an universal Scepticism into the whole System of Christian Religion: Not to say, that their Divines in teaching that the very Existence of God is not so much known as believed, manifestly betray to Atheists the Cause of Religion. But I omit these things, as not properly belonging to the matter by us undertaken. What I offer in this Discourse may perhaps seem to some too much embarassed with Scholastick Terms and Disputes: Nor indeed do I wholly deny it. But I desire those Persons to consider, whether this could possibly be avoided. For only to propose our Arguments, and not vindicate them by examining what is opposed to them by our Adversaries, seemeth to me the least part of an accurate Disputation; Which whosoever shall peruse, even with the greatest diligence and attention, cannot nor ought not to give sentence; because they have not yet heard the other party, whose defence cannot be without injustice neglected. Those defences indeed are become nauseous in this Age, and not undeservedly: But however they could not be justly passed by and dissembled by us Tet in these I have endeavoured to propose them as clearly and perspicuously as I could, and accommodate them to the capacity of all persons. Whether I have gained my intent experience must declare.*

OF

OF THE INCURABLE SCEPTICISM OF THE *CHURCH* of *ROME*.

CHAP. I.

Wherein is laid down the Design of this Treatise; and some things are premised for the better understanding of the whole.

IT is acknowledged by all, that the perfection of that Faith, which the Schoolmen call *Inform*, we *Historical*, consists in three things, that it be plenary, pure, and firm; that is, that it believeth all which God hath revealed; and that without any mixture of errour, or admittance of doubt. That the Faith of Papists is neither plenary nor pure many have demonstrated: That it is not firm or unshaken I here undertake to prove; and to shew, that admitting their Hypotheses, a Papist cannot with a certain and firm Faith be perswaded of the truth of any thing; not only not of those Articles, which *Rome* hath added to the Divine Revelation, but not even of those, which were truly revealed by God.

For since Objects of Faith are inevident of themselves, and deserve assent no otherwise, then as it shall appear that they have been revealed by God; and Revelation it self not a whit more evident: there is necessarily required one or more Rules, whereby things Revealed may be distinguished from not Revealed. We have only one such Rule, the Holy Scriptures: The Papists many, that so what they want in goodness, they may make up in number. For to Scripture they have added Tradition, Decrees of Popes, Constitutions of Councils and consent of Pastors, not only those who have successively ruled the Church from the first foundation of it, but of those also who govern at any determinate time; and lastly the belief of the whole Church.

Now that by the means of any Rule our Faith may become firm, two things are neceſſary: Firſt that the Rule it ſelf be true, containing nothing falſe or not revealed: And then Secondly, that what we believe manifeſtly agree with this Rule. If either of theſe conditions fail; our Faith muſt be uncertain. Nor is it only requiſite, that a Papiſt be aſcertained both of the truth of the Rules of his Faith, and the conformity of what he believe unto them: But alſo that he be as firmly perſwaded of the truth of theſe things, as he is of the truth of any Article of his Faith. For ſince the Faith of Papiſts depends wholly upon theſe Rules, and is ſuſtained only by them: How can it be, that the perſwaſion of the truth of thoſe things, which they believe meerly for the ſake of theſe Rules, ſhould be more firm, than the perſwaſion of the truth of the Rules themſelves, or of the conformity of what they believe unto thoſe Rules? It being impoſſible, that an Effect ſhould have more in it, than the Cauſe can give it: A Concluſion ſtronger than the Premiſes; or a Houſe firmer than the Foundations. Nor do our Adverſaries deny this. *Holden* [1] affirms, that *whatſoever certainty we can attribute to an aſſent of the underſtanding given for the ſake of the authority of God revealing: The ſame muſt neceſſarily be derived from, and depend upon the certainty of the means, whereby the authority of God revealing is communicated to the underſtanding*: And that *it is impoſſible, that any one ſhould believe thoſe things which are ſaid to be revealed by God with a greater degree of true and rational certainty, than wherewith he is aſſured, that God did reveal them.* *Ægidius Eſtrix* [2] layeth down and proveth theſe three Aſſertions. 1. *That an Aſſent of Faith cannot be more certain than the Principles upon which it depends.* 2. *That it cannot be more firm than thoſe previous Aſſents from which it is deduced.* 3. *That that which is otherwiſe, is an imprudent aſſent.* And *John Martinonus* [3] to the ſame purpoſe writeth, *That ſupernatural Faith cannot with a formal certainty taken from the merit of the object exceed the certainty of thoſe truths, which are included in its object, and in which that certainty is founded.*

[1] *Quamcunque enim certitudinem attribuere poſſumus aſſenſui intellectûs propter authoritatem Dei revelantis elicito, eam neceſſe eſt provenire ac dependere à certitudine medii, quo hæc Dei revelantis authoritas intellectui communicatur. ——— Impoſſibile eſt, ut majori certitudine verâ & rationali credat aliquis ea quæ dicuntur à Deo revelari, quàm quâ cognoverit Deum eâ revelâſſe.* Holden. Anal. Fid. lib. 1. cap. 2.

[2] Eſt. Diat. *de Sapientiâ Dei, &c.* Aſſert. 26, 27, 28.

[3] *Non poteſt fides ſupernaturalis ſuperare formali certitudine ſumptâ ex merito objecti certitudinem earum veritatum, quæ includuntur in ipſius objecto, & in quibus fundatur illa certitudo.* Mart. Tom. 5. diſp. 2c. *de Fide* Sect. 8.

Since

Since therefore the perſwaſion which Papiſts have of what they believe, either is, or is thought to be, Divine Faith: It hence appears that it cannot be ſolid, unleſs they be aſſured by Divine Faith, or ſome other not inferior perſwaſion, that both the Rules of their Faith are true, and that what they believe is entirely conformable to them. This our Adverſaries confeſs: And becauſe ſome of them hold, that no perſwaſion is of equal certainty with Divine Faith; therefore it is neceſſary, that by Divine Faith they be aſcertained of thoſe two things, or at leaſt the firſt of them. So *Ludovicus Caſpenſis* [4] *Unleſs we can believe*, ſaith he, *by Divine Faith that ſuch and ſuch Popes are Succeſſors of* Peter; *there is nothing we can believe by Divine Faith.* Martinonus [5] affirms that *the Pope could not oblige us to believe* de fide, *that which he defineth as ſaid by God; unleſs it were* de fide, *that he hath the Power of defining, and infallible aſſiſtance.* *Maimburgh* [6] hath much to the ſame ſence which would be here too long to inſert.

[4] *Niſi fide divinâ credamus ejuſmodi Pontifices eſſe ſucceſſores* Petri, *nihil eſt quod poſſimus fide divinâ credere.* Lud. Caſp. *de fide*, diſp. 2. Sect. 6.

[5] *Neque ſummus Pontifex poſſet nos obligare ad credendum de fide, id quod definit ut dictum à Deo: niſi de fide eſſet ipſum habere poteſtatem definiendi & infallibilem aſſiſtentiam.* Mart. *de fide* diſp. 9. Sect. 6.

[6] Maimb. *de la vraye parole*, Chap. 3.

If the opinion of theſe Divines were received by all, the Diſpute would be the ſhorter. For then I need only prove, that none of our Adverſaries is by Divine Faith aſſured of the certainty of the foundations of his Faith: Since all other kind of aſſurance, being inferior to that of Divine Faith, would not ſuffice. But becauſe this Hypotheſis, although admitted by moſt, is denied by ſome few; and labours with inſuperable difficulties, which I will not here touch. I will not have the force of my argument rely upon it. It remains therefore to be inquired, whether our Adverſaries can boaſt of any certainty in this matter diſtinct from, and as they think, not inferior to the certainty of Divine Faith. But firſt we muſt lay down ſomewhat concerning the kinds and degrees of certainty. *Bellarmine* [7] makes a two fold certainty, Evident, and Obſcure; that of things in themſelves manifeſt, this of things that depend upon external proofs and teſtimonies. To the firſt kind he aſſigneth three degrees: whereof firſt Principles conſtitute the firſt; Concluſions evidently drawn from theſe, the ſecond; and things perceived by ſenſe the third: That is certainty of the Intellect, of Science, and of Experience. To Obſcure Certainty he giveth as many degrees.

[7] De Juſtif. lib. 3. cap. 2.

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The firſt is of thoſe things which are believed for Divine Authority: The ſecond of thoſe believed upon the account of humane authority, but that ſo illuſtrious, that it leaveth no place for doubt; the third of thoſe things which are confirmed by ſuch and ſo many arguments, as may exclude anxiety, but not diſtruſt: Or certainty of Divine Faith, which is abſolute, certainty of Humane Faith, which is Moral, and certainty of opinion, which is conjectural. Thus far *Bellarmine*, whoſe diſtribution of the kinds of Certainty might be allowed: if the raiſing a conjectural opinion, even to the loweſt degree of it, were not too improper and irrational. But to paſs by that, this rather deſerveth notice, that he hath made no mention of that kind of certainty, which is ſo famous in the Schools, as neither wholly evident, nor wholly obſcure, but mixt of both. Such have Theological Concluſions; which are deduced from two propoſitions, the one evident, the other revealed.

It need not much be inquired; whether our Adverſaries have this laſt certainty of the firmneſs of the foundations of their Faith. For it is either of the ſame kind with the certainty of Faith, or of a diverſe. If of the ſame, as ſome will, then to prove, that our Adverſaries have not herein the certainty of Divine Faith, will diſprove this. If of a diverſe, as moſt think, then it is inferior to the other, and leſs firm; and conſequently not ſufficient. Beſides ſuch who think, that theſe Theological Concluſions founded upon a mixt certainty, are *de fide*, as *Alphonſus a Caſtro*, and *Melchior Canus*, muſt acknowledg that their opinion, oppugned by ſo many and ſo great Divines of the ſame party, cannot be certain. But an incertain opinion, though true in it ſelf, cannot be the foundation of an undoubted certainty, ſuch as is that of Divine Faith. Laſtly whether this certainty be, or be not, inferior to that of Divine Faith; it can have no place here but abſurdly and prepoſterouſly. For all this certainty is derived from things revealed; and cannot therefore add any to things revealed. Theological Concluſions are admitted only for the ſake of thoſe revealed Propoſitions, from which they are deduced. Thoſe Propoſitions therefore cannot be admitted for the ſake of theſe Concluſions, without a manifeſt and abſurd Circle.

I do not remember, that any of our Adverſaries have aſſigned a Conjectural Certainty to the perſwaſion which they have of the

the Truth of the Rules of their Faith. And ſurely ſuch Certainty would be too mean and inconſiderable for this place: Belonging to Opinion rather than Faith, as *Bellarmine* well notes; and not excluding diſtruſt, which is abſolutely deſtructive of Divine Faith.

A Moral Certainty is rarely made uſe of by our Adverſaries in this caſe; being ſuch as take place only in matters of fact, and not all thoſe neither, but only ſuch as are perceived by the ſenſes of other men, and thoſe, ſo many and ſo clearly, as take away all ſuſpicion either of fraud or errour. Whereas thoſe parts of a Papiſts belief, which have moſt need of being backed by certainty; and are ſubject to the greateſt difficulties, are matters of right; or at leaſt ſuch as fall not under the ſenſes either of himſelf or others. There are ſome things indeed, which they would have to be manifeſt by this kind of certainty, ſuch as the knowledg of a lawful Pope, or a Canonical Council, what the preſent Church teacheth, or to which Society belong the notes of a true Church, *&c.* We muſt conſider therefore, whether in theſe caſes this certainty be ſufficient. It would ſuffice indeed, if the opinions of *Bagotius* or *Huetius* were admitted: Of whom the firſt equals, the ſecond prefers Moral Certainty to Metaphyſical, and even that which is acquired by demonſtration. But few approve theſe exceſſes: Many on the contrary depreſs this certainty too low. However all agree, that it is inferior to that of Divine Faith. For which reaſon alone I might reject it, but ſhall notwithſtanding be content only then to do it, when it is falſly pretended.

As for an evident certainty our Adverſaries, neither do, nor can glory in it. For if the foundations of Faith had that: No previous motion of the will by the Divine influence, no ſupernatural aſſiſtance of grace would be neceſſary; which yet all require; and none but fools and ſtupid perſons could be disbelievers. Beſides, that thoſe things which are of poſitive right, and depend upon the free Will of God, cannot be taught by nature, but muſt be known only by Divine Revelation. But herein our Adverſaries conſent to us, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, and preſume not to boaſt of evidence in the Objects of their Belief.

There remains therefore only the certainty of Divine Faith, which they can pretend to. Wherefore I ſhall chiefly conſider

that; not neglecting yet the reſt, whenſoever it can be imagined that they may be made uſe of by our Adverſaries: omitting only the certainty of Theological Concluſions, and that for the reaſons beforementioned. I ſhall now examine all the Foundations of Faith which our Adverſaries are wont to produce; beginning at the Holy Scriptures.

CHAP. II.

That the Faith of Papiſts is not founded on Holy Scripture.

THAT the Scripture is moſt certain in it ſelf, and moſt fit to ground our Faith upon is our conſtant belief and profeſſion. But this cannot ſuffice our Adverſaries, unleſs they recede from their known Principles. The Scripture may be conſidered and uſed for the eſtabliſhing of our Faith two ways: Firſt as it is in it ſelf, and its own nature: and Secondly as it is confirmed, illuſtrated, and aſſiſted by the help of Tradition, and the authority of the Church. That Scripture, the firſt way conſidered is not a fit foundation of our Faith, our Adverſaries not only freely confeſs but ſharply contend: maintaining that, laying aſide Tradition and the Church, we cannot be aſſured either that Scripture is the Word of God, or conſiſts of ſuch Books and Chapters, or that they are delivered incorrupted to us, or faithfully tranſlated; or that this, or that is the ſenſe of ſuch a place. Of theſe opinions and arguments their Authors are agreed, their Books are full: that ſhould I recite but the names, much more the teſtimonies of the maintainers of them; I ſhould become voluminous.

To this may be oppoſed, that this is only the opinion of the School Divines and Controverſial Writers: that there are many in the Church of *Rome*, who believe the authority of the Scripture independent from the judgment of the Church, and dextrouſly uſe that method of arguing againſt Atheiſts; as *Huetius* in his Books of *Evangelical Demonſtration*, and the Anonymous Author of *the Diſſertation concerning the arguments, wherewith the truth*

truth of Moſes *his Writings may be demonſtrated*: that ſuch as theſe may have a true and firm belief of thoſe things which Scripture plainly teacheth; which are all, that are neceſſary to be believed.

Whileſt I congratulate to the Church of *Rome* theſe more ſober Proſylites, and wiſh that by a general concurrence therein they would refute my Diſſertation: I obſerve, firſt, that there are very few among them of this opinion. Secondly that it doth not appear, that even theſe few are perſwaded that their arguments ſuffice to found a Divine Faith upon the Scriptures demonſtrated by them. The Licenſers and Approvers of the aforementioned Diſſertation ſeemed to be afraid of this; while they manifeſtly diſtinguiſh a perſwaſion ariſing from thoſe arguments, from true Faith. Laſtly that it doth not appear, whether they think that they can without the authority of the Church be obliged to believe, either which are Canonical Books, or what is the ſenſe of thoſe Books. So that until they declare their mind herein, they are not by us to be disjoined from, much leſs oppoſed to the reſt.

I may therefore take it for granted, that according to our Adverſaries the Faith of private men cannot relie upon the Scripture deſtitute of the aſſiſtance of Tradition: ſince it is what themſelves moſt of all contend for. Now for what concerneth Scripture conſidered the latter way, as it is fortified by the accedaneous help of Church and Tradition; I might perhaps omit the handling of it here; foraſmuch as neither Church nor Tradition can confer a greater degree of firmneſs upon Scripture; which that they have not themſelves, I ſhall in the proceeding of this Diſcourſe more opportunely ſhew hereafter. However becauſe ſome few things occur not improper for this place; I ſhall very briefly ſpeak of them.

Firſt then how little help there is for Scripture in Tradition, appeareth hence; that it can no otherwiſe teach what is the true ſenſe of Scripture, but by the unanimous conſent of the Fathers: which whether it be to be had in any one text of Scripture, may be much doubted. It was a hard condition therefore, which Pope *Pius* IV. preſcribed, in his Profeſſion of Faith, to all which deſired admiſſion into the Church of *Rome*, and which may for ever ſilence all the *Roman* Commentators: *that they will never receive nor interpret Scripture any otherwiſe, than according to the unanimous conſent of*

[1] *Nec eam unquam niſi juxta unanimem conſenſum patrum accipiam & interpretabor.*

of the Fathers. Now I would fain know, how this Law can be obſerved: ſince I may confidently affirm, that there is no one place of Scripture explained the ſame way by all the Fathers. For there are many places, which none of them have touched; and none, which all have interpreted. Nor will it ſuffice to ſay, that they agree, who have interpreted it, and that the ſilence of the reſt is to be taken for conſent: as if they muſt be ſuppoſed to conſent, who were ignorant of ſuch interpretations, or dead perhaps before they were made, or as if the Antients were wont expreſly to reject all interpretations different from their own; or theſe might not be rejected, or at leaſt others propoſed, in thoſe Books of the Fathers, which are loſt. It is not enough therefore to have the conſent of a few; unleſs we be aſſured of the concurrence of the reſt. But granting that it is, it cannot be denied, that our Adverſaries can collect nothing certain out of any place of Scripture, if any one of the Antients have interpreted it otherwiſe. Hence *Alphonſus a Caſtro* [2] requireth, that among the neceſſary qualifications of a Text of Scripture to be produced for the conviction of Hereticks, this be the chief; *that it be ſo plain and undoubted, that none of the ſacred and approved Doctors interpret it in ſome other ſence, according to which ſuch a propoſition cannot be thereby convinced of Hereſie.* But if this be true; how few places will there be, of whoſe ſenſe we may not doubt? Certainly there are very few explained the ſame way by all antient Commentators. This *Chriſtopher Gillius* [3] Profeſſor of *Conimbria*, acknowledgeth, who affirms *many places to be in Scripture, whoſe ſenſe can be had neither from Tradition, nor from the Definition of the Church? neither yet can a concurrent explication of the Fathers be found, either becauſe they were of different opinions, or becauſe few explained the place.* And the Anonymous Writer of *the Treatiſe of the Liberties of the Gallican Church* [4] maintains, that there is few places of Scripture, which the Holy Fathers have not differently interpreted. As will alſo manifeſtly appear to any one, who ſhall conſult thoſe Interpreters, that are wont to produce the expoſitions of the Antient Writers.

[2] — *Itaq; certum & indubitatum, ut nullus ex ſacris & probatis Doctoribus illud in aliquo alio ſenſu interpretetur, juxta quem non poſſit talis propoſitio per illud de hæreſi convinci.* Caſtr. *de juſtâ hæret. pun.* lib. 1. cap. 4.

[3] *Multa ſunt in ſacris literis, quorum ſententia neque ex Traditione, neque ex Eccleſiæ definitione habetur.* — *neque ſemper communis (Sanctorum) ſententia reperitur; vel quia diverſa ſentiunt, vel quia pauci locum aliquem interpretati ſunt.* Gill. *de doctr. ſacrâ* lib. 1. Tract. 7. cap. 6.

[4] *Pauca ſunt (Scripturæ loca) quæ SS. Patres varii variè interpretati non fuerint.* lib. 3. cap. 11.

Hence

Hence the Readers may imagine, to what a ſtreight our Adverſaries would be reduced; if they were tied up to their own Laws, and allowed to urge no other places of Scripture againſt us, than what are unanimouſly interpreted by the Fathers. A Specimen hereof may be found in *Launoy*, where he weigheth the Texts of Scripture produced by *Bellarmine* for the Popes authority; and ſhewing that they are diverſly explained by the Antients, concludeth thence, that they are wholly ineffectual.

That the ſenſe of Scripture cannot be learned from Tradition, hence appeareth: but neither is it taught any better by the Church. At leaſt She hath not yet taught it. For how many Decrees of the Church is there about the true ſenſe of Scriptures. Decrees I ſay: for not every ſimple explication or allegation of a Text is to be lookt upon as an authentick interpretation of it; but only that which hath an Anathema affixed to the deniers of it, or diſſenters from it. Of this kind I find but four or five in the Decrees of the Council of *Trent*, and in thoſe of elder Councils none at all. For 1500 years the Church delivered not the ſenſe of ſo much as one place: whence may be judged, both what a faithful Interpreter She is of the Holy Scriptures! and how ſmall an aſſiſtance we are to expect from her in obtaining the true ſenſe of them.

CHAP. III.

That Tradition is no better ground for the Papiſts Faith, than Holy Scriptures.

THUS have we taken from our Adverſaries the firſt and chief foundation of Divine Faith. The Second will be as eaſily removed. I mean Tradition; which may be conſidered two ways, as well as Scripture; either as it is in it ſelf, or as it is confirmed by the authority of the Church. That it hath no force the firſt way conſidered, *Bellarmine* [1] expreſly acknowledgeth, affirming that *till we certainly know what is the true Church, Scripture, Tradition, and all matters*

[1] *Scriptura, Traditiones, & omnia planè dogmata, niſi certiſſimi ſimus, quæ ſit vera Eccleſia, incerta prorſus erunt omnia.* Bell. *de Eccleſ.* lib. 3. cap. 10.

ters of belief are utterly uncertain. That *Bellarmin* is in the right herein, at leaſt as to what concerns Tradition, is manifeſt by theſe two reaſons.

Firſt, that taking away the atteſtation of the Church, it cannot be known, that there is any Divine Traditions. For laying aſide that, how ſhall we know, that there is any unwritten Word of God derived down to us? From Tradition? that cannot be, ſince we are now doubting, whether there be any Tradition. From Scripture? That favours not Tradition: but if it did, it would avail nothing; ſince as we ſhew in the foregoing Chapter, Scripture according to our Adverſaries cannot obtain belief; till it be it ſelf confirmed by Tradition and the Church. Thus doth the truth of Tradition remain uncertain, unleſs it be ſuſtained by the Churches authority. *Gregory a Valentia* [2] well knew this, who puts Tradition into the ſame condition with Scripture; *neither being of authority when called in doubt, unleſs confirmed by ſome other certain authority.*

[2] *Sicut de authoritate ipſius Scripturæ neceſſe per aliquam aliam certam authoritatem conſtare; ita etiam de auctoritate Traditionis, ſi ea quoque revocetur in dubium.* Val. Tom. 3. diſp. 1. quæſt. 1. punct. 7. § 12.

Secondly, granting that it may be known, that there are Divine Traditions, it cannot yet without the authority of the Church be known, which they are: ſo many falſe, dubious and ſuſpected Traditions being carried about; each of which pretends to the ſame Character of Divine Authority. The teſtimonies of the Fathers will not help in this caſe: ſince even their judgment is dubious, and in many things it cannot eaſily be told, what was their opinion. Thus *Valentia* [3] confeſſeth that *Tradition being conſerved in the Writings of the Orthodox Doctors is as dubious and uncertain, as the opinion of thoſe Doctors is: and that the doubts raiſed concerning it cannot be defined by Tradition it ſelf.* In like manner *George Rhodius* [4] affirms that *no Tradition can be known to be true; unleſs ſome living Rule ſhall ſo define it.* But that this matter, being of no ſmall moment, may be the more manifeſt; we may obſerve that our Adverſaries require two things to make the teſtimony of the Fathers worthy to be relied on. Firſt that they

[3] *Cum Traditio ſcriptis ferè Doctorum Orthod. in Eccleſiâ conſervetur; quæſtiones ac dubia moveri poſſunt de ſenſu illius, ſicut dubitatur ſæpe de ſenſu ac mente Doctorum. Ejuſmodi autem quæſtiones — per eandem ipſam Traditionem definiri ſatis non poterunt.* Val. loc. cit.

[4] *Neque ſcire potero Traditionem aliquam eſſe veram; niſi vivens regula, id definierit.* Rhod. *de fide* quæſt. 2. Sect. 5. § 1.

they conſent; and ſecondly that they do not meerly propoſe what ſeems moſt true to themſelves; but teſtifie moreover that what they teach, was either delivered by Chriſt, or is of Faith, or, which is all one, the oppoſite of it, hereſie. If either of theſe fail, then their teſtimony is not ſecure. The firſt condition is required by many and particularly by *Alphonſus a Caſtro*, [5] who enquiring out the ways, whereby a propoſition may be convinced to be heretical; in the fourth place aſſigns *the unanimous conſent of all the Fathers, who have written upon that argument.* The latter condition is made neceſſary by many more. *Driedo* [6] tells us the authority of the Fathers is of no value *any otherwiſe than as they demonſtrate their opinion either from the Canonical Scriptures, or the belief of the univerſal Church ſince the Apoſtles times; and that they do not always deliver their ſenſe as matters of Faith: but by way of judgement, opinion, and probable reaſon.* Stapleton [7] writeth that *this authority is not allowed to all the ſayings of the Fathers, but either as they relate the publick belief of the Church, or have been approved and received by the Church.* *Gillius* [8] laſtly grants, that *the teſtimony of Fathers and Doctors unanimouſly aſſerting ſomewhat pertaining to Faith and Divinity, if they ſimply aſſert it, and do withall tell us it is an Article of Faith, ought to be a firm Argument to a Divine, but without Infallibity of Faith.*

[5] *Quarta eſt omnium SS. Doctorum, qui de re illâ ſcripſerunt, concors ſententia.* Caſtr. *de juſtâ haret. pun.* lib. 1. cap. 4.

[6] *Non quia Hieronymus, ſic vel ſic docet, non quia Auguſtinus, &c.* Dried. de Eccleſ. Dogm. lib. 4. cap. 1. 6.

[7] *Non enim omnibus eorum dictis hæc authoritas datur; ſed quatenus vel Eccleſiæ publicam fidem referunt, vel ab Eccleſiâ Dei recepta & approbata ſunt.* Stapl de princip. doctr. lib 7. cap. 15.

[8] *Teſtimonium, Patrum vel Doctorum Scholaſticorum communiter aſſerentium aliquid ad fidem vel Theologiam pertinens, ſimpliciter tamen, & non indicando eſſe dogma fidei, eſſe debet argumentum firmum Theologo, ſed citra infallibilitatem fidei.* Gill. de doctr. Sacrâ lib. 1. Tract. 7. cap. 13.

Both conditions are required by *Canus*, [9] and *Bannes* [10] who laying down Rules, whereby true Traditions may be diſcerned from falſe; both aſſign this in the ſecond place and in the ſame words: *If the Fathers have unanimouſly from the beginning, all along the Succeſſion of their times, held any Article of Faith, and refuted the contrary as heretical,* *Bellarmine* and *Gretſer* [11] give this for their fourth Rule. *When all the Doctors of the Church teach any thing by common conſent*

[9] Can. Loc. Theol. lib. 3. cap. 4.

[10] Bann. *in* 2. quæſt. 1. art. 10. *Si quod dogma fidei Patres ab initio ſecundum ſuorum temporum ſucceſſiones concordiſſimè tenuerunt, hujuſque contrarium ut hæreticum refutârunt,*

[11] Bell. & Gretſ. *de verbo Dei* lib. 4. cap. 9.

ſent to have deſcended from Apoſtolical Tradition, either gathered together in a Council, or each one a part in their Writings. Suarez[12] writeth, that *although the Fathers and Schoolmen agree in any opinion not aſſerting it to be of Faith: But delivering their Judgment in it, they will not make it to be of Faith, becauſe they remain always within the limits of humane autherity.** Filliutius[13] reckoning up the ſeven degrees of things pertaining to Catholick verity, aſſigns the Sixth degree to *thoſe truths, which by the unanimous conſent of the Fathers are propoſed to be of Faith.* Martinonus[14] that *none of the Holy Fathers or Doctors taken ſeparately is the Rule of Faith; nor all yet together conjunctly, unleſs they aſſert their common opinion to be of Faith, and not meerly propoſe their own Judgment.* Laſtly Natalis Alexander[15] affirms, that *when all the Fathers conſpire in the ſame opinion, defend it, and propoſe it as Apoſtolick Doctrine, and an Article of the Church to be believed by Catholick Faith: Then doth their authority afford a neceſſary argument of Sacred Doctrine*

Thus far theſe Writers: And that the reſt do not diſagree from them we ſhall ſoon be perſwaded; if we conſider, how unlikely it is, that a greater infallibility ſhould be allowed even to an unanimous teſtimony of the Fathers; than to Pope, or Council, or both together, or the preſent Univerſal Church: All which our Adverſaries grant may erre in thoſe things which they ſimply affirm or teach, and define not to be of Faith.

It ſufficeth not therefore, either that many Fathers deliver an opinion as of Faith; or that all ſhould ſimply teach it, but not affirm it to be of Faith. Now if theſe two conditions be obſerved; How few Articles of Chriſtian Faith ſhall we receive from Tradition? For the Fathers ſeldom all agree, and more rarely admoniſheth us, that what they teach, is of Faith. So that if you take away all Articles, wherein either of theſe conditions is wanting; it may well be doubted, whether any one

[11] *Licet Patres vel Scholaſtici in aliquâ ſententiâ conveniant, non aſſerendo illam eſſe de fide, ſed judicium ſuum in eâ proferendo, non faciens rem de fide; quia ſemper manent intra menſuram autboritatis humanæ.* Suarez *de fide* diſp. 2. Sect. 6.

[12] —*quæ unanimi conſenſu Patrum tanquam de fide proponuntur.* Fill. *in* Decal. Tract. 22. cap. 1.

[13] *Certum eſt nullum ex SS. Patribus vel Doctoribus ſeorſim ſumptum eſſe Regulam Fidei,* —*jam de eorundem ſimul ſumptorum conſenſu diſtinguendum. Vel enim loquuntur ex proprio ſenſu, non aſſerendo rem tanquam de fide, & judicium ſuum de eâ proferendo; & ſic non Regula Fidei.* Mart. *de fide* diſp. 8. Sect. 3.

[14] *Cum omnes Patres in eandem ſententiam conſpirant, eamque propugnant, ac proponunt, ut Apoſtolicam doctrinam, & Eccleſiæ dogma Catholicâ fide credendum: tunc eorum authoritas neceſſarium argumentum ſacræ doctrinæ ſubminiſtrat.* Alex. ſæcul. 2 p. 1022.

one will remain. Certainly if our Controverſial Divines ſhould ſo far make uſe of this obſervation, as to reject all teſtimonies of the Fathers produced by our Adverſaries againſt us, with which themſelves will not be obliged, that is, ſuch as are deficient in either of the conditions before laid down: They would be reduced to ſilence, and not have one authority left to boaſt of.

From what hath been ſaid, it appears that matters of Tradition and belief cannot be learned from the Fathers. Hence *Ægidius Eſtrix* [16] vehemently inveighs againſt *Peter-Van Buſcum* a Divine of *Gaunt*; who in his *Inſtruction* had remitted young Divines to the Fathers to learn the Chriſtian Doctrine from them. And *Nuetus* the Jeſuite likens thoſe Writers of Controverſie, who paſſing by the Scripture betake themſelves to the Fathers, to Thieves and Rogues, who deſerting the Cities, flee into thick Woods, that they may more ſecurely hide themſelves.

[16] Eſt. Apol. Sect. 4.

[17] Nuet. *adv.* Claud. *de Euchariſt. in præfat.*

If the Fathers therefore teach not Tradition; there remains only the Church, whence it can be known. Whether the Church therefore hath that power, as to confer the deſired Certainty upon what She pronounceth to be revealed and to be believed, is next to be inquired. Which, becauſe our Adverſaries here chiefly faſten their hold, eaſily giving up the former means of conveying Tradition; ſhall be ſomewhat more accurately diſcuſſed.

CHAP. IV.

That the Faith of Papiſts cannot be founded even upon the Definitive Judgment of the Church.

Firſt becauſe it is neither evident, nor of Faith, that the Judgment of the Church is certain.

BY the name of Church, whereon our Adverſaries would have the Faith of all men to be founded, they are wont to deſign two things. Firſt that viſible Congregation of men,

which conſiſts of Pope, Clergy, and Laicks; all profeſſing the ſame Faith. Secondly that part of this firſt Church, whoſe office it is to Rule the reſt, and preſcribe Laws of acting and believing to them: Whether this part be the Pope, or a Council. The former they call the Univerſal, the latter the Repreſentative or the Regent Church. To both they aſcribe infallibility, but in a different way; to the firſt in believing, to the ſecond in defining, or as they chuſe to ſpeak, in propoſing. So that whatſoever the Univerſal Church believeth, or the Repreſentative propoſeth to be believed, muſt neceſſarily be true, and revealed by God; and the denial of it, hereſie. We ſhall examine each in order: But firſt of the Repreſentative Church.

Our Adverſaries believe to have been inſtituted by God a living and viſible Authority, whoſe office it ſhould be to define matters of belief and practice, infallibly determine emergent Controverſies, and judge of Hereſie. That whatſoever this power, which ſome call the *Chair*, others more accurately the *Tribunal*, defineth, propoſeth, or judgeth; may and ought to be received of all Chriſtians as an Article of Faith: and that this is the ordinary and immediate foundation of the Faith of private Chriſtians. Indeed in aſſigning this Tribunal, what and where it is, all do not agree. But that there is ſuch an one, whatſoever it is, all do contend. Whether there be ſuch an one, is a great queſtion, and may juſtly take up another Diſcourſe. But now we only conſider, whether the judgment and definition of this Tribunal be ſuch, as that whoſoever relyeth upon it, can or ought to be certain, that he doth not err, and that what he believes, is true. For it is not enough that this Tribunal be infallible, unleſs its infallibity be alſo manifeſt. Since if it had ſuch a priviledge, but either unknown or uncertain; he indeed, that acquieſced in its definitions, would not err, but could never be certain, that he doth not err, and might reaſonably doubt, whether he doth or no. I enquire therefore, whether our Adverſaries can be certain that the Church in defining cannot err.

If the Papiſts have any certainty of the infallibility of the Church defining; it muſt be either Moral, or evident, or that of Divine Faith: For the reſt we have excluded before. But it can be none of theſe: Not Moral, for that depends upon the

the teſtimony of anothers ſenſes: But the Infallibility of the Church cannot be perceived either by our own, or by anothers ſenſes. Nor indeed is it here pretended to by our Adverſaries: No more than Evident Certainty, which they expreſly acknowledge they have not herein. So *Andrew du Val* [1] tells us *The Infallibility of the Church can be certainly known only by Divine Revelation.* *Arriaga* [2] that *it is not a Truth known by it ſelf, or ſelf evident.* *Conink* [3] that *it is known to us only by Faith from the teſtimony of the Scriptures*, and *ſerveth to direct only the Faithful.* *Yſambertus* [4] that *it cannot be known infallibly by men, otherwiſe than by Divine Revelation.* *Rhodius* [5] that *it is known only by Divine Faith.* Laſtly *Antonius Arnaldus* [6] that *it is not ſelf evident.*

[1] *Non poteſt firmiter & infallibiliter ſciri niſi ex Divinâ Revelatione*, Du Val in 2. 2. pag. 16.

[2] *Non eſt veritas per ſe nota*, Arr. *de Fide* Diſp 3. Sect. 1.

[3] *Solâ Fide ex Scriptura teſtimonio conſtat; ſolos fideles dirigit.* Con. *de act.* Cupern. Diſp. 9. dub. 5.

[4] *Non poteſt ſciri ab hominibus infallibiliter, niſi ex divinâ revelatione.* Yſamb. *de Fide* Diſp. 26. art. 2.

[5] *Cognoſcitur tantùm Fide divinâ.* Rhod. *de Fide* quæſt. 1. Sect 4. §. 4.

[6] *Non eſt quid ex ſe evidens.* Arn. Perpert. *de la Foy*, liv. 1. chap. 7.

The whole matter therefore comes to this, whether the Infallibility of the Church be of Faith. That it is our Adverſaries, as we ſee, pretend; that it is not, I prove many ways. Firſt this ſeems to be the opinion of a man of great Name among them, *Launoy*, who every where oppugneth the Infallability of the Pope, and ſheweth that the Infallibility of a Council appears to him not to be of Faith; while he ſaith [7] that *although it be certain the priviledge of not erring is in a Council; yet that it is far more certain among Divines that it is in the Church*: Which he would never have ſaid, if he had believed the Infallibility of a Council to be of Faith. For then it would be no leſs certain than the Infallibility of the Church.

[7] *Quamvis certum ſit non errandi privilegium ineſſe Concilio, longè tamen certius eſt apud Theologos Eccleſia ineſſe.* Laun. Epiſt. *ad* Vallant. Tom. 2.

Beſides it is the common opinion of our Adverſaries; that nothing is of Faith, of which Diſputes are raiſed in the boſom of the Church, She being conſcious of them. Thus *Holden* [8] affirms, *that is not an Article of Divine and Catholick Faith; whoſe oppoſite is publickly maintained by many pious and learned Catholicks,*

[8] *Certum eſt illud non eſſe Fidei divinæ & Catholicæ dogma, cujus oppoſitum a plurimis piiſſimis & doctiſſimis Catholicis viris publicè ſuſtentari vidimus, ſciente nimirum & patente Eccleſiâ univerſâ.* Hold. Anal. fid. lib. 1. cap. 9.

the Universal Church knowing of it, and winking at it. To the same purpose *Canus* [9] teacheth, that *if the opinion of one or a few be not rejected by the Church; then the* (contrary) *authority of many will produce nothing firm or certain.* There is extant among the works of the *Fratres Valemburgii* a Treatise called the *Rule of Faith*, written formerly in French by *Veron*, and translated into Latine by the *Valemburgii*, and so openly adopted by them, that whatsoever *Veron* writ of himself in the singular, they translate in the plural. So that whatsoever is contained in it, may be lookt upon as the sense of all three Writers. Now the chief scope of this Book is to shew, that not a few opinions taught by many of their Doctors, and by us affixed to the whole Church of *Rome*, are not of Faith, but may be safely denied. To the obtaining of this end they make use chiefly of two means, the silence of the Council of *Trent*, and the testimonies of Doctors of a contrary opinion: and Section 15. [10] have these words, That *the different judgement of the Doctors herein may alone suffice to prove, that it is not of Faith.* Upon this foundation proceed all those Divines; who maintain that the Pope is infallible, or superiour to a Council. Thus the *Valemburgii* [11] write, that *for this cause only, they will not affirm this proposition to be of Catholick Faith, because Authors of the contrary opinion are not condemned by the Church for Hereticks.* So *Bannes* [12], *Bellarmine* [13], *Vasquez* [14], and *Duval* [15] tells us, that *they will not assert the contrary opinion to be heresie; because it is not yet condemned by Popes or Councils, and is tolerated in the Church.* But *Gillius* [16] goes farther, and reprehendeth *Bannes* for inflicting even a mark of rashness upon the opinion of one only sense of Scripture, since four Divines, *Alensis*, *Albertus*, *Henricus*, and *Medina* had defended it.

This opinion of our Adversaries is grounded on a double foundation. The first *Gillius* declareth in expres words, *viz.* that *it is not credible that so many learned and pious persons should either*

[9] Sunius *aut paucorum opinatio non fuerit ab Ecclesiâ rejecta, tum plurimorum authoritas —— nihil certum firmumque conficiet.* Can. loc. Theol. lib. 7. cap. 3.

[10] *Variæ sunt hâc de re Doctorum sententiæ; quod vel solum sufficit probando id non esse de fide Catholicâ.*

[11] *Eâ solùm de causâ non affirmamus hanc propositionem fide Catholicâ esse tenendam; quid Authores, qui contrarium sentiunt, nondum videamus ab Ecclesiâ damnatos pro hæreticis.* Val. Tom. 1. Tract. 1. Exam. 3. num. 111.

[12] Bann. *in* 2. 2. quæst. 1. art. 10. dub. 2.

[13] Bell. *de* Pont. lib. 4. cap. 2.

[14] Vasq. *in* 3. disp. 137. cap. 1.

[15] Duval. *in* 2. 2. p. 344.

[16] *Quare rigida videtur censura, quâ Bannes oppositam notat (sententiam) vocans eam temeratiam.* Gill. *de* doctr. Sacrâ lib. 1. Tract. 7. cap. 4.

either not know what the Catholick Faith teacheth, or knowing it ſhould oppoſe it. The Second is, that it would be a moſt unpardonable neglect of the Church to ſee the Faith torn in pieces by her Children, and be ſilent in ſo urgent an occaſion. For by that connivance She ſhould at leaſt indirectly confirm hereſie: it being a Rule of the Canon Law, [17] that an *Errour, which is not reſiſted, is approved.*

[17] *Error, cui non reſiſtitur, approbatur,* Diſt. 83.

If therefore I demonſtrate, that not one or two, but many of the *Roman* Divines, and thoſe the moſt celebrated, and by their merit preferred to the greateſt dignities in the Church, were not only ignorant of, but alſo openly denied this Infallibility: I ſhall at the ſame time prove, that it is not of Faith. The former will eaſily be performed. For firſt, the moſt noble and learned *Jo. Fr. Picus* [18] Prince of *Mirandula* confeſſeth, that *their Doctors and Canoniſts are divided in their opinions, whether a Pope and Council conjunctly defining matters of Faith can err or not: and that we are not obliged to believe either opinon.* That *Picus* his teſtimony is true any one will be convinced, that conſidereth how many things repugnant to this Infallibility the greateſt men of the *Roman* Church have taught. Theſe may be reduced to four heads. Firſt, the teſtimonies of thoſe which teach that the Pope and Council (to whom alone this Infallibility is aſſigned) can err. Secondly, of thoſe which deny that Church which is unerring and indefectible, to be ſo tied to the Clergy, that it may not wholly conſiſt in others. Thirdly, of thoſe who aſſert that the Faith of all men, one only excepted, may fail; and ſo the Church ſubſiſt in a ſingle Laick or Woman. Fourthly of thoſe who imagine that the Faith may periſh in all adult perſons, and ſo the Church conſiſt only in baptized infants.

[18] *Voluerunt multi Concilium ſi unà cum Pontifice in iis quæ ad eſſentiam fidei pertinent, ſententiam ferat, nullo pacto errare poſſe. Reſtitêre alii, affirmantes errare poſſe Concilia, & jam erraſſe — nec adhuc aliquid (quod ſciam) promulgatum eſt, cujus vi ad alterutrum credendum obſtringamur.* Picus ad Theor. 4.

For the firſt we ſhall produce *Ockam*, or at leaſt them, whoſe opinions he relates. (For in his Dialogues he never ſpeaks in his own perſon) [19] He therefore affirms, that *it is raſh to ſay a General Council cannot err againſt the Faith; that being the peculiar priviledge of the Church Militant.* That the

[19] *Una ſola eſt Eccleſia militans, quæ contra fidem errare non poteſt. — Temerarium eſt dicere, quod Concilium Generale contra fidem errare non poteſt.* Occam. Dial. part. 1. lib. 5. cap. 25.

[19] *Scripturæ divinæ, universali Ecclesiæ, & Apostolis absque allâ dubitatione in omnibus credendum. Nullis verò aliis, quantâcunque doctrinâ vel Sanctitate præpolleant,* —— *Ita quod nec in Concilio generali, si esset congregata universalis Ecclesia, nec Decretis Pontificum, nec Doctorum dictis est necessario credulitas in omni dicto absque omni exceptione præstanda.* Id. part. 3. Tract. 1. lib. 3. cap. 4.

[20] *Si quæratur, quis habet judicare, an Concilia fuerint Catholicè celebrata, respondetur quod periti in Scripturis habent judicare per modum firmæ assertionis, quod definita ab iis sunt Catholicè definita.* Id. cap. 19.

[21] 1. *Concilium generale potest dissormari legi Christi.* 2. *Ecclesia Romana, quæ distinguitur a totâ congregatione fidelium, ut pars à toto, potest hæreticari.* 3. *Tota multitudo Clericorum & Laicorum virorum potest à fide deficere.* All. *in* quæst. vesper. art 3.

[19] *the Scriptures, the Universal Church and the Apostles are without hesitation to be believed; but none others how eminent soever in holiness and Learning, no not a General Council, although the Universal Church were gathered together in it, nor the Decrees of Popes, nor the Judgments of Doctors.* Lastly [20] that *it belongs to every man skilful in the Scriptures, with a firm assurance to judge whether Councils have been celebrated Canonically, or defined Catholickly.*

Peter de Alliaco [21] Cardinal of *Cambray*, and one of the Presidents of the Council of *Constance*, layeth down these Three Assertions. 1. *That a General Council can depart from the Law of Christ.* 2. *That the Church of* Rome, *which is distinguished from the whole Congregation of the Faithful, as the part from the whole, may fall into Heresie.* 3. *That the whole multitude of Clergy and Laity may apostatize from the true Faith.* This Lecture opposed by a Parisian Doctor he afterwards largely defended in his Reply, which he Entitled *de Resumptâ*: Where among other things to this purpose he enquireth, what is to be done, when a General Council errs, and the State of Christendom is so depraved, that Hereticks have all the Power, the Faithful being become few and contemptible: And in this case adviseth to make divers Appeals, commit themselves to the Divine Grace, and bear the injury with Patience.

[22] *Non est ergo specialis Ecclesia, non Africana, nec utique particularis illa Romana, sed universalis Ecclesia, non quidem in generali Synodo congregata, quam aliquotiens errâsse percepimus. Sed est &c.* Vald. doctr. Fid. Tom. 1. lib. 2. cap. 19. *Paulo post. Quia nulla harum (Synodi Episcopalis, &c.,) est Ecclesia Catholica Symbolica, nec vendicat sibi fidem dari sub pœnâ*

Waldensis [22] teacheth, that *the Church, which is the Infallible Rule of Faith, is neither Pope nor Council, which have sometimes erred; but the Series and Collection of all Doctors successively from the Apostles to our times. That neither an Episcopal Synod, nor the common decree of the Roman Church, nor yet a General Council of all the Bishops of the World, is that Catholick Symbolical Church, that can challenge*

assent

aſſent upon pain of infidelity: But the Univerſal ſucceſſion of the Holy Fathers throughout all Ages. That an unanimous conſent of the Fathers is to be preferred before the Decree of a General Council, although all the Biſhops of the World be therein. That Obedience is not ſo readily and intirely to be given to the dictates of any particular Church, or even to the authority of a General Council, as to the firſt Faith propoſed by Scripture, or the Symbolical Church of Chriſt: The other being to be regarded only as the inſtitution of the Elders, and paternal admonition.

perfidiæ. Sed &c. ——*Nec movere quenquam debet, quod talem concordem profeſſionem Patrum præpoſuit decreto generalis Concilii, etiamſi è toto orbe exiſtentes convenirent Epiſcopi.* Et cap. 27. *Nec tamen alicui jam dictæ (Eccleſiis Apoſtolicis, maximè verò Romanæ, & authoritati Concilii Generalis) ita obediendum cenſeo, & tam pronâ fide, ſicut primæ fidei Scripturæ, vel Eccleſiæ Chriſti Symbolicæ, ſed ſicut inſtitutionibus Seniorum & monitioni paternæ.*

Cardinal *Panormitan* [23] writeth, that *in things indeed concerning Faith a Council is above the Pope. Yet if the Pope be moved with better reaſons and authorities than the Council, we are to ſtand to his determination. For even a Council may err, and hath erred. That in matters of Faith the judgment even of one private man is to be preferred before the Sentence of the Pope; if he were moved with better Arguments drawn from the Old and New Teſtament, than the Pope.* And much more to the ſame purpoſe. *Antony* [24] Archbiſhop of *Florence* hath tranſcribed this whole paſſage of *Panormitan* into his ſum of Divinity without making the leaſt mention of him; and delivers it as his own opinion.

[23] *Ideo in concernentibus fidem Concilium eſt ſupra Papam —— Puto tamen quod ſi Papa moveretur melioribus rationibus & authoritatibus quàm Concilium, quod ſtandum eſſet ſententiæ ſuæ. Nam & Concilium poteſt errare, ſicut alias erravit,* &c —— *Nam in concernentibus fidem etiam dictum unius privati eſſet præferendum dicto Papæ, ſi ille moveretur melioribus rationibus* N. & V. *Teſtamenti quam Papa,* Panorm. *in* Cap. *Significâſti de electione.*

[24] Ant. Summ. Theol. part. 3. Tit. 23. Cap. 2. §. 6.

Cardinal *Cuſanus* [25] alloweth indeed Oecumenical Councils to be infallible: But to this End requireth ſo many conditions, that it is very difficult they ſhould all be had, and impoſſible to be known when had. The fourth condition is, *that the Council regulate it ſelf by the Rules of the Holy Ghoſt laid down in Scripture, and the definitions of precedent Councils. Otherwiſe that, howſoever free and univerſal, they may be appealed from, and proteſted againſt.* And at laſt concludes, that *it is to be ſeen by experience, that a full General Council can err; as diverſe ſuch Councils have been, which have erred in defining.* Thus he of Councils;

[25] *Notandum eſt experimento rerum Concilium univerſale plenarium poſſe deficere; quomodo etiam varia Concilia talia fuerunt, quæ judicando errârunt.* Cuſan. Concord. Cath. lib. 2. cap. 3. & 4.

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who hath much more about the errability of the Pope. Wherefore *Bellarmine* reckons him among the Parisians. *Nicholas de Clemangis* [26] expresly Disputes against the Infallibility of Councils. But because he preadmonisheth he affirms nothing, but only to dispute for finding out the truth: I shall not urge his Testimony.

[26] Clem. *in* Disp. *de* Conciliis.

Cardinal *Dominicus Jacobatius* [27] asserteth, that *when Popes and Councils disagree in defining; that judgment is to be preferred, which is consonant to the definitions of precedent Councils. If none of which have passed Sentence in this matter; then the Councils definition shall not be received, if the Popes be founded upon better reasons and authorities. For that a Council can erre; as appears by that of* Ariminum, *the Second of* Ephesus, *that of* Affick *under* Cyprian, *and many others. That the Infallibility of the Universal Church proves not the same to be in a Council: Since the Universal Church is not truly in a Council.* That in the case of contrary definitions by the Pope and a Council, *it is not yet defined, what is to be done or observed.* That *his Opinion however is, that he which should hold to and observe either part, should not therefore incur the danger of Damnation although he died in the observation of it.*

[27] *Quia Concilium potest errare, ut patet in Concilio* Arimenensi, Ephesino. 2. Africanâ *Synodo tempore* Cypriani, *& in aliis multis. Nec obstat si dicatur, quòd Ecclesiâ non potest errare; quia intelligitur de Ecclesiâ universali. Sed Concilium repræsentativè dicitur Ecclesiâ; in Concilio enim verè non est universalis Ecclesia.* Jacob. *de* Concil. lib. 6. pag. 239.

All these manifestly teach that both a Pope, and Council, to whom alone active Infallibility is attributed may erre. Nor is it enough to say, that herein they deliver their judgments of the Pope and Council, disagreeing one from another, and not conjunctly defining. This indeed may seem to be said with some colour of Truth in *Jacobatius*: But as for *Occam* and *Alliacensis*, it doth by no means fit them. Nor yet doth it in the least enervate the Testimonies of the rest: Since whensoever they deny infallibility to Pope or Council; they do not thereto oppose the consent of both, but either the Symbolical and successive Church, as *Waldensis*; or the Universal, as all the rest. Besides they deny infallibility to belong to the representative Church, and to be the property of the Universal, whereas every one knoweth and acknowledgeth that only the representative Church is in a Council. As for *Jacobatius* his opinion it plainly is, that obedience is then immediately to be given to the

the Decree of a Pope or Council when it is conſonant to the definition of ſome former, even particular Council, which had been received by the univerſal Church; that this obedience therefore is to be paid, not for the authority of the preſent definition, but the approbation of the Univerſal Church, which She is ſuppoſed to have given to it by a long reception. But what clears the matter beyond all exception, is that *Jacobatius* is one of thoſe, who think the Church may fail, except one woman only: as we ſhall ſee afterwards under the third head.

The ſecond *Claſſis* contains the teſtimonies of Doctors aſſerting the Church, for which Chriſt prayed, and promiſed the Gates of Hell ſhould not prevail againſt it, not to be confined to the Eccleſiaſtick order, but may conſiſt of believers of whatſoever rank and order. This *Petrus Alliacenſis* expreſly affirms in the place by us above cited. So the Author of the *Gloſſe* [28] upon the Canon Law, inquiring what Church it is that cannot err, determineth *it to be the Congregation of the faithful; which cannot fail, Chriſt having prayed for it:* and *Nicolas Lyra* [29] to thoſe words, *The Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it*, affixeth this Gloſſe— *that it, to ſubvert it from the true faith.* To which he ſubjoyns. *Whence is manifeſt that the Church conſiſts not in men in reſpect either of Eccleſiaſtical or Secular Dignity; (for they have ſometimes apoſtatized from the Faith) but in thoſe perſons in whom remains a true knowledge and confeſſion of the faith and truth.*

[28] *Quero de quâ Eccleſiâ intelligas quod hîc dicitur, quòd non poſſit errare? de ipſo Papâ, qui Eccleſia dicitur? ſed certum eſt, quòd Papa errare poteſt. Reſpondeo, ipſa congregatio fidelium hic dicitur Eccleſia. Et talis Eccleſia non poteſt non eſſe. Nam ipſe Dominus orat pro Eccleſia.* Cauſ. 24. quæſt. 1.

[29] *A verâ ſc. fide ſubvertendo. Ex quo patet, quòd Eccleſia non conſiſtit in hominibus ratione poteſtatis vel dignitatis Eccleſiaſtica vel ſecularis; quia multi principes, & ſummi Pontifices, &c. inventi ſunt apoſtatâſſe a fide. Propter quod Eccleſia conſiſtit in illis perſonis; in quibus eſt notitia vera, & confeſſio fidei & veritatis.* Lyra in Matth. 16. 18.

The third *Claſſis* comprehendeth the teſtimonies of thoſe who teach, that the whole Church may fail, except one only perſon, and that either Eccleſiaſtick or Laick, Man or Woman, and ſo the Church conſiſt in that perſon alone. That the Church actually did ſo at the time of our Saviours Paſſion, *Toſtatus* [30] (doth not aſſert, as *Suarez* [31] and *Bannes* [32] falſly relate, but) tells us it was the common opini-

[30] Toſt. *in* Matth. praf quæſt. 14.

[31] Suar. *de fide* diſp. 9. Sect. 3.

[32] Bann. *in* 2. 2. q. 1. art. 10. dub.

on in his time. The ſame writes *Æneas Sylvius* in his *Hiſtory of the Council of Baſil.* *Bannes* and *Turrecremata* [33] attribute this opinion to *Alexander Alenſis*, *Hugutius*, and *Durandus Mimatenſis*: the latter aſcribe it alſo to the whole multitude of Preachers; and produceth out of *Alenſis* [34] this ſentence. *That opinion, which ſaith the Church conſiſted in the Virgin alone, in whom alone remained true faith at the paſſion, ſeems true to us:* which *Turrecremata* alſo himſelf defends in many places, particularly *Summ. de Eccleſ. lib.* 1. *cap.* 30. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 61. Beſide theſe four there are not, a few, of the ſame mind. *Ockam* [35] affirms that *the whole Faith of the Church may remain in one ſingle perſon, as it did in the bleſſed Virgin at the time of our Lords paſſion*; that *if God permitted this in the days of the Apoſtles, he will much ſooner permit it in theſe latter Ages*; and that *the contrary opinion is raſh.* *Panormitan* [36] in the words immediately following thoſe before cited, ſaith *it is poſſible the Faith of Chriſt may remain in one only perſon.* That *at the Paſſion of our Saviour it remained only in the bleſſed Virgin*; and that *for this cauſe probably the Gloſſe ſaith, wheresoever good men are, there is the Church of Rome.* This paſſage alſo, as well as the former, *Antonius Florentinus* tranſlated into his *Sum. Peter de Monte* [38] Biſhop of *Brixia* gives this reaſon, why Laicks ought to be admitted into the Council; *becauſe the Faith may poſſibly remain in one ſimple Laick, as it did formerly in the Bleſſed Virgin.* *Clemangis* [39] aſſerts *the Church may by grace remain in one ſingle woman, as formerly in the Virgin.* *Jacobatius* [40] writeth that *after the paſſion faith remained in the Bleſſed Virgin alone, that ſo the promiſe of indefectibility made by Chriſt unto his Church might not fail*; *which promiſe was made not to the repreſentive Church (or a Council)* but to the Univerſal. Laſtly *J. Fr. Picus Mirandula* [41] ſaith that *in the time of Chriſt*

[33] Torrec. *de* Eccleſ. lib. 3. cap. 6.

[34] *Opinio quæ dicit, quòd in ſolâ Virgine ſteterit Eccleſia, in quâ ſola fides manſit in paſſione, videtur nobis vera.*

[35] *In uno ſolo poteſt ſtare tota fides Eccleſiæ; quemadmodum tempore mortis Chriſti tota fides Eccleſiæ in B. Virgine remanebat. Non eſt etiam credendum, &c.* Occ. Dial. part 1. lib. 2. cap. 25.

[36] *Poſſibile eſt, quòd vera fides Chriſti remaneret in uno ſolo— Hoc patuit poſt paſſionem Chriſti. Nam, &c. Et fortè hinc dicit Gloſſa, quòd ubi ſunt boni, ibi eſt Eccleſia Romana.* Panorm. loc. cit.

[38] *Quia fides poteſt remanere etiam apud ſimplicem Laicum, & in aliis omnibus ſcrire, ſicut accidit in perſonâ B. Mariæ in paſſione Chriſti.* Pet. *de Monte* lib. *de Monarchiâ*

[39] *In ſolâ poteſt mulierculâ per gratiam manere Eccleſia; ſicut* &c. Clem. diſp. de Concil.

[40] *Nam & remanſit fides in B. Virgine aliis deficientibus poſt paſſionem, ut oſtenderetur quòd non poſſit deficere fides, pro quâ Chriſtus oravit, cùm dixit Petro. Et ego pro te rogavi, ut, non deficiat fides tua. Et non intelligitur,* &c. Jac. de Concil. lib. 6. p. 242.

[41] *Chriſti tempore deficientibus in fide Apoſtolis integra & omnino perfectiſſima fides in ſola Virgine Domini matre remanſit.* Pic. Theor. 13.

Christ the Apostles falling away from the Faith, it remained intire and perfect in the Virgin alone.

The fourth Classis exhibits only *Jandovesius* of *Minorca*, who by the relation of *Baunes* [40] taught about the year 1363. that in the time of Antichrist the Church should consist only of baptized infants, all adult persons apostatizing from the Faith.

[40] Bann. Comm. in 2. 2. quæst. 1. art. 10. dub. 1.

Thus far these testimonies, which occurred to me in a hasty search. If I had time or opportunity to turn over the Writings of the XIII. XIV. and XV. Ages; I doubt not but I should find many more. However any one may see, how utterly repugnant these which I have produced are to the Infallibility of Pope and Council. Yet there is no sentence pronounced against these Writers, no mark set upon them, not the least censure inflicted on them. How can this be, if they had taught right down heresie? Nay this opinion is not only not condemned, but also many ways approved. First, in that the Defenders of it have been preferred to the greatest dignities of the Church; some made Cardinals, others Presidents of Councils, one (*Antoninus Florentinus*) Sainted and at this day Worshipped. Which surely would not have been done, if he had taught Heresie. But what is more expres, and which cannot be eluded, is that *Thomas Waldensis*'s work, whence he produced the clearest passages, was solemnly approved by Pope *Martin* V. This *Trithemius* [42] affirms telling us that *Martin V. examined this work, and confirmed it by Apostolical authority.* The Bull of approbation also may be seen prefixed before the third Volume; with the Examination subjoyned, which lasted above a month; when the work being presented to the Pope, it was by him confirmed in full Consistory. So that after this strict examination and solemn approbation to imagine heresie is contained in this Book, will draw the Pope, who approved it, and the whole Church (which never opposed this approbation) into the suspicion of heresie.

[42] *Quod* Martinus *Papa* V. *examinatum authoritate Apostolicâ confirmavit.* Trithem *in* Vald.

I have done with the first argument. The second shall be drawn from the silence of the Council of *Trent*; which alone proveth that they thought it not an Article of Faith; since they condemned not the Protestants on that account, although no less vigorously impugning it, than any other Article of their Church. This argument is so much the stronger, in that our

Adverſaries frequently urge the ſilence of the Council of *Trent* to prove Articles, by us objected to them, not to be of Faith. So *Veronus*, and the *Valemburgian* Brethren in the book abovementioned. So the Biſhop of *Meaux* in that Famous Book, which hath illuded ſo many. If they reaſoned well herein; why may not we uſe the ſame Arguments? And then the Infallibility of the Church cannot be of Faith, becauſe wholly pretermitted by the *Tridentine* Council.

Laſtly, that it is not of Faith may be proved hence, that no foundation of ſuch a Faith can be alledged. For if any were, it muſt be either Scripture, or Tradition, or ſome decree of the Ruling Church, or the conſent of the Univerſal Church. That Scripture and Tradition cannot be produced in this Caſe, we have already demonſtrated, for this reaſon eſpecially, becauſe the certainty of both depends upon the teſtimony of the Church. Yet *Amicus* [43] flieth thither; who after he had objected our argument to himſelf, anſwers that *Scripture and Tradition may be taken either as approved by the infallible judgment of the living Rule, and ſo of divine authority, and to be believed by infuſed Faith. That thus conſidered they cannot be produced to prove the authority of the living Rule*: Or *they may be taken as only teſtified and confirmed by humane reaſon, and ſo of humane authority, and to be believed by acquired Faith*: That *this way conſidered they are produced to prove the living Rule: wanting indeed infallible divine authority, but having ſuch humane authority, as by the acceſſion of Chriſts Providence over his Church becomes infallible.*

[43] *Sumi poſſunt Traditio & Scriptura primo modo ut approbatæ infallibili judicio ipſius regulæ animatæ, quo pacto ſunt authoritatis divinæ & credendæ fide infusâ. Hoc autem modo a nobis non ſumuntur ad probandam infallibilem authoritatem regulæ animatæ. Secundo modo ſumi poſſunt, ut teſtatæ ſignis & rationibus humanis, ut quod, &c. quo pacto ſunt authoritatis humanæ & credendæ fide acquiſitâ, Atque hoc modo ſumuntur, ad probandam, &c.* Amic. *de Fide* diſp. 6. n. 52.

I wiſh the Jeſuit in writing this had firſt objected to himſelf our whole Argument. For that is drawn not only from the impoſſibility of knowing, according to our Adverſaries, the Divinity of Scripture or Tradition without being firſt aſſured of the infallibility of the Church; but alſo from hence, that they teach it cannot be known which are the Canonical books, whether received by us uncorrupted, or faithfully Tranſlated, and is the true ſenſe of them, without the ſame previous aſſurance. If he had objected all this to himſelf; he muſt either have departed from all the reſt of their Divines, and denied their ſo much boaſted of arguments, or have yeilded herein. Yet let

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us examine what he offers. First therefore his joyning the providence of Christ to the yet human authority of Scripture and Tradition is frivolous and absurd. For of that we are assured no otherwise than by Faith, and consequently it cannot be a foundation to Faith. Now this being taken away, the other Arguments of the Truth of Scripture and Tradition according to the Jesuits argumentation become fallible, and so no fit foundation for infallible Faith. Besides I would know whether this acquired Faith carrieth with it indubitable Truth, and be of the same certainty with Divine or infused faith, or at least sufficient to found Divine Faith upon. For if it be not, our argument returns: If it be, why may we not have without the assistance of the Churches authority a Divine Faith of those things, which Scripture, or if you will, Tradition also, clearly and plainly teach, at least as clearly, as they are thought to teach that infallibility of the Church.

But *Amicus* hath a reserve for this. He pretends [43] that although the human Arguments of the Truth of Scripture and Tradition be self evident and sufficient to create a Divine Faith; yet that we are forbidden by God to believe them with a Divine Faith, till his Vicar the Pope shall have confirmed them. A miserable refuge, which lyeth open to a thousand inconveniencies. For to omit asking where this prohibition of God is to be found; not to urge that hereby all their Arguments drawn from the nature of the thing concerning the uncerainty of any revealed Article without the supervenient Authority of the Church, are wholly destroyed; not to say, that hereby the controversie is turned from matter of Right into matter of Fact, and become a meer enquiry, whether God hath made any such prohibition: Laying aside I say all these things, I will insist upon this one Observation. It is not here enquired, whether Scripture and Tradition proposed by any other than the Pope oblige us to assent or not; but only whether any one, either obliged or not obliged, can receive them howsoever proposed and thence build his Faith upon them. If he can, then our Argument returns; and we may also believe with Divine Faith what we find taught in Scripture. If he cannot, I would fain know which way then Papists can admit Scripture and Tradition, and from them learn the Infallibity of the Church; since *Amicus* had before denied that it could be Learned, or ought to be

[43] Ibid. num. 49.

be believed for the teſtimony of Scripture and Tradition, as infallibly propoſed by the Church.

It is manifeſt therefore, the belief of the Infallibility of the Church cannot reſt on Scripture or Tradition. But neither can it on the judgment of the Ruling Church. For beſides that no ſuch judgment is produced; if it were, it would be fruitleſs. For then, what was never granted, the Church will be judge and give ſentence in her own cauſe: which *Alphonſus a Caſtro* [45] denieth to Scripture; *becauſe that were to run in* infinitum, *and no teſtimony can be valid in its own cauſe.* For imagine any one, that believed not the Church to be infallible now to begin to believe it: This firſt act of belief cannot be founded upon the judgment of the Church. For whoſoever believeth any thing for the ſake of the Churches judgment, did before believe that judgment to be certain; which deſtroyeth the ſuppoſition.

[45] *Si de Scripturâ ipſâ eſt quæſtio, non poterit ipſamet eſſe Judex: quia tunc erit abire in infinitum. In propriâ cauſâ nullius teſtimonium eſt validum.* Caſtr. de juſtâ hæret. punit. lib. 1. cap. 5.

This our Adverſaries confeſs. So *Conink* [46]. *The judgment, whereby we judge that we are to believe the Church hath infallible authority of propoſing matters of Faith, ought to be grounded upon other arguments or ſome other foundations* So alſo Mœratius [47]. *None can believe this Article of our Faith* (the Infallibility of the Church) *the Churches authority it ſelf intervening to this aſſent, as the rule infallibly propoſing matters of belief.*

[46] *Judicium quo judicamus nobis credendum eſſe Eccleſiam habere infallibilem omnino authoritatem proponendi res fidei, debet aliis notis, ſive alio fundamento niti.* Conink. de actib. ſup. diſp. 17. dub. 3.

[47] *Nemo poteſt credere hunc Articulum fidei noſtræ, interveniente ad aſſenſum hunc ipſâ Eccleſiæ authoritate, tanquam regulâ res credendas infallibiliter proponente.* Mærat. de fide diſp. 17. Sect. 2.

There remains therefore only the belief of the Univerſal Church, wherein this Faith of private Papiſts herein can relie. Many things might here be ſaid: but becauſe we ſhall handle that matter more fully at the end of this Treatiſe; we will not anticipate our arguments here. I ſhall only in a word obſerve the abſurdity of it. Our Adverſaries ſay, that private perſons ought to believe the active infallibility of the Ruling Church; becauſe they ſee it believed by the Univerſal Church. But why doth the Univerſal Church believe it: truly for no other reaſon, but becauſe She do believe it. For the Univerſal Church is nothing elſe, but the collection of all ſingle believers.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

That it is uncertian, what are thoſe Decrees of the Church, whereon Faith may relie.

WHAT I ſaid will be more manifeſt to him, who ſhall conſider; that to make the Decrees of the Church a fit foundation for our Faith, it is not ſufficient to know that the Church in defining cannot err; unleſs alſo we know, what are thoſe definitions of the Church, which are placed beyond all danger of errour. For our Adverſaries all acknowledge, that the Church doth not always, nor in all things enjoy this priviledge of Infallibility; but in many things may be miſtaken, as in defining Philoſophical queſtions: and in general whatſoever belongeth not to Religion. Some add Controverſies of Fact; others Canonization of Saints; many all thoſe things, which although belonging to Faith, are not yet propoſed as of Faith, but only ſimply affirmed, or brought for the illuſtrating and confirming of ſome other matter. Since the Church therefore may be miſtaken in ſo many things: we ought to be well acquainted, what thoſe Decrees are, wherein She cannot err.

That this notwithſtanding is moſt uncertain, two things evince. Firſt that it appears not, what are the conditions, what the Character and Notes of a firm and valid Decree. Secondly, that although this ſhould appear, it would not yet be known what are thoſe particular Decrees, which have theſe Characters. The firſt again is manifeſt by two reaſons: firſt in that it is uncertain whether theſe exceptions, wherewith the infallibility of the Church is limited, be all lawful; and then no leſs uncertain whether they be all, which can and ought to be aſſigned. For if both theſe things be not certainly known; we ſhall continually doubt, whether we do not for ſome unjuſt exception undeſervedly reject ſome Decree of the Church, that ought to be obeyed; and received ſome other, which for ſome juſt exception not yet aſſigned ought to be rejected.

But both on the contrary are uncertain. The firſt, concerning

cerning the lawfulneſs of the conditions already aſſigned is, becauſe our Adverſaries themſelves do ſo irreconciliably differ in aſſigning them. Whatſoever one layeth down, ſome other removeth: So that nothing certain can be had thence. Nor can it be ſaid theſe conditions are ſelf evident, or of Faith. For what evidence is that which eſcapes the knowledge of ſo many Learned men? And our Adverſaries grant, as we ſaw before, that nothing can be of Faith, whereof Catholick Divines diſpute unregarded by the Church. Beſides if it be of Faith, it muſt be revealed. But where is this revelation? In Scripture? Nothing either is or can be produced thence. In Tradition? That will afford perhaps two or three Teſtimonies of the Antients, but which reſpect only one condition (that of excluding Controverſies of Fact) and are themſelves liable to many exceptions. But granting they are not, what ſhall become of the other conditions aſſigned, of no leſs moment: Or what will two or three Teſtimonies avail, wherein their Authors affirm not what they write to be of Faith: Nor will the Regent Church give us any help herein. For She hath defined nothing in this matter; or if ſhe had, it would be wholly vain. For it would ſtill be enquired, whether that Definition were of Faith; and ſo in *infinitum*. As for the Univerſal Church, She can have no place here, as well for the reaſons abovementioned, as becauſe her diſſent rather than conſent is to be ſhewed herein.

There is no way therefore left, but to recur to Experience. They will ſay they have obſerved the Church to erre, when ſhe undertook to define in caſes excluded by their exceptions; and that theſe exceptions therefore muſt neceſſarily be applied to thoſe places of Scripture, which attribute infallibility to the Church. But then they will give us juſt reaſon to reply, that if experience giveth us a right to reject that ſenſe of Scripture, which the words ſeem to imply, meerly becauſe it is repugnant to our Obſervations, and ſubſtitute another more congruous to them? Then we may moſt juſtly reject that ſenſe of thoſe Words, *This is my Body*, which our Adverſaries affix to them, as contrary to the experience of all mankind, and aſſign another perfectly accommodated both to reaſon and experience. Beſides there is nothing againſt which our Adverſaries more ſharply contend, than to judge and examine the Definitions of the Church by dumb and dead Rules, ſuch as Scripture and Tradition

Tradition are: yet this very thing is done by thoſe men, who thence conclude the Church to be fallible in certain caſes, becauſe they have obſerved her to have been formerly miſtaken in them. For this can be done no otherwiſe than by examining the Decrees of the Church, either by Scripture, or Tradition.

Again, if experience giveth them a right to limit the infallibility of the Church by their exceptions; why may not we challenge the ſame priviledge, and aſſign our exceptions likewiſe. We then lay down only that one, formerly propoſed by *Cuſanus*, which if admitted by our Adverſaries, will ſoon put an end to all controverſies, that is, that the Church never preſume to define any thing but according to the Holy Scriptures, leaving undecided all things, wherein they are either ſilent or obſcure. And ſo all our Controverſies are reduced to this one point, whether this exception is to be added to thoſe which our Adverſaries have aſſigned. As often therefore as they oppoſe to us the judgment of the Church, we may with reaſon reject it, till they can ſhew, that our exception is unjuſt, which they will never be able to do. On the contrary we can demonſtrance the equity of it by experience, and ſhew that the Church hath erred, as often as She obſerved not this exception. But let it be rejected. Who can tell, Whether no other is to be added? Certainly if the obſervation of the paſt Errours of the Church have given occaſion to theſe Writers to form theſe exceptions; the obſervation of future errors will likewiſe produce new exceptions. Nay who will warrant, that nothing already paſt hath eſcaped the notice of theſe Obſervers, whence other exceptions might have been framed?

And hence alſo appears what I undertook to prove in the ſecond place, that although we were aſſured the exceptions are lawful and juſtly aſſigned; we cannot be certain they are all that are ſo, and whether others are not yet to be added. For ſince the exceptions are formed only from experience; if the Authors of them made not a juſt obſervation of all the paſt errours of the Church, or had not in their eye all poſſible future errors of a different nature; there may be other exceptions, no leſs neceſſary and momentous, to be aſſigned. And how ſhall we be at laſt aſcertained of the requiſite diligence, ſagacity, and prudence of theſe Obſervers? I ſhall illuſtrate all by a famous example. One of the cheif exceptions, whereby the Papal power is limited, is that all thoſe Decrees are excluded, which

were not for ſome ſpace of time affixed to the doors of St. *Peters* Church and the Apoſtolick Chancery, and ſolemnly promulged by the Popes Meſſengers in the wonted places. This exception was made about an hundred years ſince meerly to ſerve a turn; when they could by no other means elude the arguments of the Proteſtants againſt the Papal Infallibility drawn from Pope *Clement* VIII. his Bull, whereby he re-called *Sixtus* V. his Edition of the Bible, and Preface prefixed to it. Then it was they forged this exception pretending that *Sixtus* his Bull, although printed and prefixed to his Bibles, had not been ſolemnly publiſhed by the Meſſengers. An exception, which had been never dreamt of, had not *Sixtus* erred; as appeareth hence, that the precedent Writers *Cajetan*, *Canus*, and *Bellarmine* make no mention of it, whereas of the ſubſequent Writers few forget it. Nor is there any doubt, but that if any Pope hereafter ſhould commit ſome other miſtake, which might wound his pretended Infallibility; ſome other Exception would be framed to ſalve his honour.

If therefore our Adverſaries, as we have proved, cannot certainly know what are the conditions and characters of the Infallible Decrees of the Church, they muſt neceſſarily be ignorant, which Decrees may be ſecurely believed and obeyed. But granting they might be certain herein, and taking away all theſe ſcruples, they will be yet for ever uncertain which Decrees have, which want theſe conditions. For what will it avail to know that the Church, may err in matters Philoſophical, or of Fact, or which are not propoſed as of Faith; if we be uncertain what are Philoſophical matters, what of Fact, and what propoſed as of Faith? Yet that all theſe kinds of things are yet uncertain, will be eaſily evinced. For,

Firſt, ſince the School Divines have ſo intermingled *Ariſtotles* Philoſophy with Divinity, nothing is more difficult than exactly to diſtinguiſh them. Whence it frequently happens, that what one accounts meerly Philoſophical, another eſteems matter of Divinity. So in the year 1666. when a certain Theatine [1] at *Paris* had propoſed theſe and ſuch like *Theſes* to be publickly diſputed of, *viz.* That *any knowledge in the Father was abſolutely ſufficient to beget the Son; ſo that if the Father had underſtood but any one object, ſuppoſe a Lilly, he muſt be thereby ſuppoſed to have begotten the Son, that if both together had loved but any one object*

[1] *Apud* Launoi Epiſt. part 5. Epiſt. 2. *ad* Berruer.

ject, as a Roſe, yet would they thereby have ſpirated the Holy Ghoſt. That *the unſpeakable torment of Devils conſiſts in this, that by hypoſtatical union the Devil is become fire, and fire become the Devil.* Theſe and the like Theſes the propoſer maintained to be Theological. *Launoy* contends they are Philoſophical; others think, perhaps more truly, that they are fooliſh and prophane. The Council of *Conſtance* defined the accidents in the Euchariſt to remain deſtitute of any ſubject. The *Carteſians* deny this, and value not the definition, pretending that it is about a matter Philoſophical. Others thereupon accuſe their denial of hereſie. *Copernicus* and *Galilæus* their Syſteme of the world were condemned at *Rome*. Some thereupon dare not embrace it, though otherwiſe inclined to believe it. Others more bold contend it is purely a matter of Philoſophy. See therefore many learned and wiſe men divided about the application of the firſt exception. And if ſo, how ſhall more ignorant perſons be able rightly to diſtinguiſh them, and thence certainly to know, to which of the Churches Decrees they are to give a ſteadfaſt, and to which a dubious Faith?

The ſame is the caſe of the ſecond Exception. Many of our Adverſaries deny the Church to be infallible in queſtions of Fact. In the mean while they differ about determining, what are matters of Fact, and what of right. To know what is the ſenſe of a late Writer, many account a queſtion of Fact. *Eſtrix* [2] on the contrary contends it belong to right.

[2] Eſtr. Diar. *de ſapientiâ* &c. aſſert.

The ſame may be ſaid of the third Exception. That excludes from the rank of infallible all Decrees not propoſed as of Faith. But what thoſe Decrees are, doth not appear. So the Council of *Trent*, for example, defined that the body of Chriſt exiſts under the Bread *by vertue of the words*, but the Blood *not by vertue of the words, but by concomitance.* No anathema being inflicted upon thoſe, that think otherwiſe. Hence aroſe a queſtion, whether this diſtinction were of Faith. Some in *Vaſquez* [3] hold the negative: himſelf largely endeavours to prove the affirmative. This might be further confirmed with innumerabe inſtances. But I chuſe rather to take notice of ſomewhat more remarkable. The Church in defining hath in theſe latter Ages been wont to make uſe of words, which might rather conceal than declare her opinion, and from which the moſt ſagacious perſons ſhould not collect her meaning. For example one of the notes, whereby we know,

[3] Vaſq. *in* 3. diſp. 185. cap. 2.

whether a definition be by the Church proposed as of Faith, is the excommunication of the Deniers of it, yet it sometimes happens the Church would not have that be thought to be of Faith, the Deniers whereof She excommunicates. So the Council of *Trent* [6] having enjoyned that every one conscious of any mortal sin, should confess, before he communicates; subjoyneth: *If any one presume to teach, preach, or pertinaciously assert the contrary; let him be* ipso facto *excommunicate.* Any one would hereby imagine, that the opinion of *Cajetan* were condemned of Heresie. Yet *Canus* [7] tells us, that *for caution sake it was not; and of this,* saith he, *we, that were present in the Council are Witnesses.* See another Artifice, which creates more perplexities. When the Church condemneth many propositions in one Decree; it oftentimes happens, that they are not all of the same kind and quality; but some *Heretical,* others only *erroneus,* some *Rash,* others *Scandalous,* and some *Offensive to Pious Ears,* as they are wont to term them. Now none but Heretical propositions hurt the Faith, and consequently if the Church be infallible only in matters, which she proposeth as of Faith, when she condemneth these mixed propositions, her judgment is infallible only in respect of the Heretical ones. The rest may with safety and truth be defended. It is of infinite concern therefore in the direction of our Faith; that these propositions should be distributed into their several Classes, and the particular censure specified in each of them. But that is very rarely done. The propositions are all huddled up together: And we are only told in general, that some of them are Heretical, others Erroneus, *&c.*

[6] *Si quis contrarium docere, prædicare, vel pertinaciter asserere præsumpserit, eo ipso excommunicatus existat.*

[7] *Hoc propter periculum cautum est — Nam quod sententia Cajetani non fuerit pro hereticâ condemnata & nos testes sumus, qui Concilio interfuimus.* Can. loc. Theol. lib. 5. cap. 5.

Thus the Council of *Constance* [8] condemned 45 Propositions of *Wickliff* in these Words. *This Holy Synod hath caused them to be examined, and 'tis found, that many of them are notoriously Heretical, others not Catholick but erroneous, some scandalous and blasphemous, some offensive to pious ears, and some rash and seditious.* In the same manner that Council condemned Thirty Assertions of *John Husse*; without acquainting us what particularly in them is contrary to Faith, and consequently what wherein themselves cannot err. The Popes make use of the same trick. So the Bull [9] wherewith *Pius* V. and *Gregory*

[8] *Quibus examinatis fuit repertum aliquos & plures ex ipsis fuisse & esse notoriè hæreticos, alios non Catholicos sed erroneos, alios scandalosos & Blasphemos quosdam piarum aurium offensivos, nonnullos eorum temerarios & seditiosos.* Concil. Const. Sess 8.

[9] *Quas quidem sententias, quanquam nonnullæ aliquo pacto sustineri possent, in rigore tamen hæreticas, erroneas, &c. respectivè damnamus.* Bulla *ad calcem Operum.* Vasq.

Gregory XIII. condemned Seventy five Propoſitions of *Michael Baius* after it hath recited them, and confeſſed that *divers of them might be in ſome ſenſe maintained, condemns them all reſpectively, as Heretical, erroneous, ſuſpected, raſh, ſcandalous, and offenſive to pious ears.* See an ambiguous ſentence, and very unfit to remove ſcruples. Nor doth *Vaſquez* deny it, but tells [5] us, that *from their cenſure doth not appear, what cenſure agreeth to each ſingle Propoſition.* Wherefore when himſelf had undertaken to defend ſome of theſe Propoſitions; that he might know in which of them the Poyſon of Hereſie lay hid; he began to read *Baius*'s Book, having firſt asked leave. But when that would not do, he conſulted Cardinal *Toletus*, whom the Pope had ſent to *Lovain*, to ſee the Bull put in execution; and Learned from him that the Popes had condemned ſome of thoſe Propoſitions, only becauſe they were too ſharply worded. Now what a rare help doth the Church afford in declaring to every one what he ſhould believe when the ſenſe of her own decrees cannot be known without conſulting her moſt intimate Counſellours, ſuch as *Canus* and *Toletus*?

[5] *Ex quâ cenſurâ non apparet, qualis uniquique propoſitioni cenſura ſigillatim conveniat.* Vaſq. *in* 1. 2. Diſp. 190. cap. 18.

Further it may very well be, that he which knoweth the particular propoſitions condemned of Hereſie, may be ignorant wherein the Hereſie conſiſts. For the ſame propoſition may admit of many ſenſes, whereof ſome may be true, others falſe, ſome Heretical, others not. If the Church had any care of the truth: She ought accurately to diſtinguiſh theſe ſences, and tell us which may be admitted, and which ought to be exploded. But nothing of this is done. Rather *Pius* V. and *Gregory* XIII. declaring that ſome of *Baius* his Propoſitions are in ſome ſenſe maintainable but in rigour heretical, tell us neither what is that harmleſs ſenſe, which may be defended, nor that pernicious Hereſie, which ought to be avoided.

But nothing evinceth this more clearly, than what lately happened upon occaſion of the Janſeniſt Doctrine. Five Propoſitions were taken out of *Janſenius* his *Auguſtinus*, and by ſome French Biſhops ſent to be examined by the Pope. Others were preſent for *Janſenius*, who pleaded the Propoſitions were capable of divers ſenſes, ſome true, ſome falſe; and earneſtly deſired it might be ſpecified in which ſenſe each Propoſition were approved or condemned. That requeſt being ſtiffly denied by the Roman Conſiſtory, who were reſolved to condemn them in

in the groſs: The Janſeniſts diſtinguiſhed Three Senſes of each Propoſition, and placing the different ſenſes in Three Columns offered them to the Examiners, deſiring they would admoniſh which of all thoſe ſenſes the Cenſure aimed at. But neither ſo could they obtain their End. Only afterwards when the Controverſie grew hot, Pope *Alexander* VII. declared the Propoſitions were condemned in the ſenſe intended by the Author. The Author had been now dead, before his Book was publiſhed, much leſs condemned. And ſo while the Popes pretended to condemn the Authors ſenſe; they ſaid nothing elſe but that they condemned a ſenſe; which neither they would, nor any body elſe could tell, what it was. And to this day it is diſputed among them, what is that Heretical ſenſe intended by the Author and condemned by the Popes.

Thus much of the Third Exception. I might add another, which not a few of our Adverſaries produce. For they require, that the Church proceed maturely, diligently, and Canonically in her judgment: Which certainly few or none can know. But becauſe the conſideration of this would take up too much time. I ſhall omit it: Having already ſufficiently evinced, that nothing is more uncertain, than to know what are thoſe Decrees of the Church, which may be ſecurely believed; and conſequently that Faith cannot be founded on them.

CHAP. VI.

That it is uncertain, what is that part of the Univerſal Church, to which active Infallibility belongs.

And Firſt, that it doth not appear, whether it be in the Pope.

[1] *Si enim incertum hoc eſſet; quicquid de judice controverſiarum in Eccleſiâ ut certum de fide creditur, eſſet planè ridiculum* Arr. *de Fide* Diſp. 7. Sect. 8.

IF we ſhould after all this grant the knowledg of the Churches Infallibility, and of her Infallible Decrees, not to be impoſſible, this would contribute nothing to the eſtabliſhing our Faith; unleſs it were likewiſe known, what is that Supream Tribunal, whoſe Decrees are to be obey'd. *For if this were uncertain,* ſaith Arriaga, [1] *whatſoever is believed as of Faith concerning a Judge of Controverſies in the Church, would be ridiculous.* Now this

this thing is really uncertain, as I shall prove. There are three opinions concerning it among our Adversaries. For this Supream and Infallible power is by most assigned to the Pope alone, by almost all the French and some few more to a Council alone, and lastly to Pope and Council together by some very few, so few, that I could never find one that expressly asserted this opinion, and but two or three that obscurely insinuate it.

I begin with the Pope; and affirm, that unless his Infallibility be of Faith, his Decrees cannot be the foundation of Faith. No other certainty will here suffice, for as for Moral and Self evident, here is not the least shadow of them; and that of Theological Conclusions I before excluded. So that certainty of Faith is necessary. This our Adversaries confess, at least those of the first opinion. *Caspensis* [2] writeth that *unless we believe by Divine Faith such Popes to be the Successors of* Peter, *there is nothing we can believe with Divine Faith.* Martinonus [3] that *the Pope could not oblige us to believe as of Faith what he defineth to be revealed by God, unless it were of Faith, that he hath the power of defining, and infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost.* Rhodius [4] *that unless the infallibility of the Pope were of Faith; it would not be of Faith; that he is not actually mistaken.*

[2] *Nisi fide divinâ credamus ejusmodi Pontifices esse successores Petri, nihil est quod possumus fide divina credere.* Casp. *de fide* disp. 2. Sect. 6.

[3] *Pontifex non posset nos obligare ad credendum de fide id quod definit ut dictum a Deo; nisi de fide esset ipsum habere potestatem definiendi & infalibilem assistentiam* Sp. S. Mart. *de fide* disp. 9. Sect. 6.

[4] *Si non esset de fide, quòd (Papa) sit infallibilis; ergo non est de fide quòd non fallatur.* Rhod. *de fide* quæst. 3. Sect. 1. §. 3.

Is it therefore of Faith that the Pope is infallible? So indeed some of them maintain, as *Suarez, Castrus, Palaus, Lud. Abelly, Ja. Vernautius, Fr. Macedo, Theoph. Raynaudus, Amicus Caspensis, Martinonus, Rhodius,* and others. Yea *Abelly* [5] affirms that *it is a fundamental truth of Religion, a Prime Article of Faith, upon which the rest depend,* and the contrary opipinion *a capital heresie. Vernautius* [6] concludeth that *none without the crime of heresie can hold an opinion contrary to the belief of the Pope proposed to all the faithful. Macedo* [7] thinks *the denial of it to be an undoubted error in Faith, and if obstinately persisted in heresie.* Lastly *Raynaudus* [8] tells us, *the deniers are by many, if not by all beyond the Alpes and Pyrenæans accounted hereticks, at least materially.* When he saith *materially,* he mean-

[5] *Veritatem religionis fundamentalem, articulum fidei ex præcipuis unum, cui innitantur cæteri omnes.* Abelly *apud* Estrix Diat. ass. 47. [6] *Neminem posse sine crimine hereseos doctrinam tenere contrariam Pontificis fidei omnibus fidelibus proposita.* Vern. *apud eundem.* [7] *Censeo qui absolutè negat infallibilem esse Papam —— errare haud dubiè in fide, & si in errore obstinatus perseveret; hæreticum fore.* Mac. *ibidem.* [8] *Qui Pontifici eam infallibilitatem abrogant, a plerisque, sin minus ab omnibus trans Alpes & Pyrenæos habentur hæretici saltem materialiter.* Rayn. αὐτὸς ὅρα punct. 5.

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neth in the Language of the Schoolmen that the opinion of these Deniers is accounted in it self heretical, and wants only obstinacy in the defenders to make it downright and *formal* Heresie. Now this obstinacy is judged of, partly by the external Proposition of the Truth opposed to Heresie, partly by the internal disposition of mind. Now because the latter is known to God alone, and all truths are not sufficiently proposed to all; therefore those of whom *Raynaudus* speaks do wisely in laying down that limitation of *material Heresie*. But this *Salvo* will not serve the Learned disbelievers of the Papal infallibility. For since it is as clearly revealed to them, as it is to the believers of it: Either those are rank Hereticks, whom a sufficient Proposition will not convince; or these fools, who assent to an opinion insufficiently proposed.

Thus indeed these Writers: But others are of a contrary opinion, as *Bellarmine, Vasquez, Tannerus, Duval*, the *Valemburgii*, *Gab. Boyvin*, and others, who strenuously maintain the Infallibility of the Pope, and yet deny it to be of Faith. *Duval* [9] produceth three weighty reasons.

[9] Duval. *de potest.* Pont. part. 2. quæst. 1.

1. *For that it hath been no where defined.* 2. *That the opposite Doctors, as* Alliacensis, Gerson, *&c. Were never condemned.* 3. *In that the Scripture doth not clearly enough teach this Infallibility.* The two first reasons are also made use of by *Bellarmine, Vasquez*, the *Valemburgii*, and *Boyvin*. And indeed this opinion is most consonant to the received Principles of their Church. For if nothing can be an Article of Faith, of which their Divines freely dispute unregarded by the Church: This certainly cannot be; whose Truth hath been and is to this day fiercely disputed of among them, even by *Bellarmines* Confession from the time of the Council of *Constance*; the Church all this while inflicting no censure on either party. Besides if the Infallibility of the Pope be of Faith; it will then be Heresie to deny it, as we saw some before asserting. *Hadrianus Florentius* therefore was an Heretick, (who affirms [11] *the Pope can err even in those things which concern Faith by asserting Heresie by his determination or decretal, and that many Popes have been Hereticks.*) and the Church will be a favouress of Heresie in that She afterwards promoted *Hadrian* to the Popedom without first requiring of him an abjuration of his Heresie.

[11] *Certum est, quod possit (Pontifex) errare, etiam in iis quæ tangunt fidem, Heresin per suam determinationem vel Decretalem asserendo plures enim fuerunt Pontifices Rom. hæretici.* Hadr. *in* Dictat. *in* 4. Sentent.

Again if this opinion be Heretical, the Council of *Basil* will be

be heretical, that defined it and vigorouſly maintained it: The *Sorbon* and *Gallican* Clergy hereticks, that teach it: the Pope a favourer of hereſie, who daily conferreth Abbies, Biſhopricks, and Cardinals Hats on notorious Hereticks, giveth them places in Councils, and maintains Communion with them: the whole Latin Church will have been divided in point of Faith, and part infected with hereſie, part with the Communion of hereticks, for many Ages, from the Council of *Conſtance* according to *Bellarmine*, but even from the time of *Firmilian* (or the middle of the third Century) according to *Lupus*; who aſſigns *Firmilian* to be the firſt oppoſer of Papal Infallibility, and makes St. *Baſil* to have been his Succeſſor in opinion, as well as in the See of *Cæſarea*, that thenceforward this Hereſie got ground among the *Grecians*, inſomuch as the *Pelagians* condemned by the Popes, appealed to the Council at *Epheſus*, hoping their ſentence might eaſily be reverſed by the Greek Biſhops, as not allowing the Popes Infallibility. If ſo, then this diſſention is very ancient in the Church; which if it toucheth Faith, then a peſtilent Hereſie hath for many Ages been connived at by the Church and Councils. But whatſoever becomes of *Lupus* his Calculation, certain it is this diſſention hath continued from the Council of *Conſtance*, ſo that if it be concerning a matter of Faith, the Church of *Rome* hath all this while wanted that glorious Character of Unity of Faith, which She ſo much boaſts of.

CHAP. VII.

That it is not certain, whether the Pope in defining uſed all diligence neceſſary to a right definition, or whether he obſerved all the wonted ſolemnities in publiſhing his Decree.

ANother ſcruple next ariſeth, no leſs weighty than the former. For granting we may be aſſured of the Infallibility of the Pope, it is ſtill to be inquired which be thoſe Decrees of his that are infallibly true. For that all are not ſo our Adverſaries confeſs. Many things are by them required, and beſides thoſe before mentioned two other conditions, *viz.* Diligence of the Pope in well examining the queſtion to be defined, and obſervation of the due ſolemnities in publiſhing the definition. For the firſt, they

require that he diligently consult Scripture and Tradition, address himself by Prayers to God, and omit nothing, which may assist him in finding out the Truth. So *Tapperus*[1], *Canus*[2], *Cellotius*[3], *Bagotius*[4], and many others, but above all *Duvall*[5], who not only proposeth, but also accurately demonstrates the necessity of these conditions.

But who can assure us, that this requisite diligence was always used? Or as often as a Papal decree comes forth, are we to suspend our assent, till we be ascertained that nothing requisite was omitted by the Pope? If that be true, there will be few Decrees, to which we owe assent and obedience. *Canus, Bellarmine, Suarez, Duvall, Martinonus, Rhodius*, and many others answer, that as he which promiseth the End, promiseth also the the means of that End; so Christ in promising Infallibility to the Pope must be supposed likewise to have promised that he would take care the Pope should never omit any thing necessary for finding out of truth and declaring it to others when found. I will not now enquire, whether this be consonant to what they teach about the Controversie of *the Aids of Grace*. I only ask, whether what they alledge be certain. If not, our Faith will always fluctuate, and ever be uncertain. That it is not certain *Tapperus* [6] ingenuously confesseth. *Whether*, saith he, *if it should happen, that the Pope proceeds wrong, would God hinder him going about to curse, as he did* Balaam, *or make him retract his judgment, as the Counsel given by* Nathan *the Prophet to King* David? *It is not certain.* Nay that it is absolutely false, may be proved by many examples. Did *Benedict* II. Examine well what he went about when he condemned *Julian Toletanus* his Book, which he was afterwards forced to approve? Did *Vigilius* who sometimes condemned, sometimes defended the *Tria Capitula*? Did *John* VIII who notwithstanding his Oath, the Decrees of his Predecessors, and Sanctions of Three Councils, restored *Photius*, and reinforced the Schism?

Another very evident Example of this is afforded by the suppression of *Sixtus* V. his Bibles, which alone might evince three things, that the Popes are not always sufficiently diligent in their Definitions, that they can err in any Decrees, and that it is not known when the requisite Solemnities are observed in the promulgation, which was my second Argument. The case was this. The Council of *Trent* in authorizing the Vulgar Version had desired it might

[1] Tapp. orat. 3.
[2] Can. loc. Theol. lib. 5. cap. 5.
[3] Cell. *de* Hier. lib. 4. cap. 10.
[4] Bag. Instit. Theol.
[5] Duval. *de* Pot. Pont. Sect. 2. quæst. 5.

[6] *Si contingeret eum (Pontificem) perperam procedere; an Deus eum volentem maledicere prohiberet, sicut impedivit* Balaam *an potius retractari faceret ejus judicium, sicut &c. Certum non est,* Tapp. loc. cit.

might be correctly and accurately set forth, leaving the Execution of this matter to the Pope. That this might be well done, great industry was used. At last after Forty Six years *Sixtus* V. published the Edition, prefixing a Bull to it, whereby he commanded it to be received by all men: And wherein having prefaced that *the matter belonged wholly to his cognisance*, and that all necessary diligence was abundantly used by himself, and the Cardinals and Doctors employed about the work; he *pronounceth by that irrevocable Decree, with the consent and Counsel of his Brethren, of his own certain knowledge, and the fulness of Apostolick power*, that this is undoubtedly to be accounted that very Edition, which was made Authentick by the Council of *Trent*, and now approved by himself: And *by the Apostolick power delivered unto him by our Lord*, commandeth, that *every where and in all cases it be received for true Legitimate, Authentick, and undoubted; and all future Editions be corrected by this, and not the least syllable be changed, added or omitted upon pain of the greater Excommunication.* This certainly, if any thing was a question of Faith and right, being concerning the true Rule of Faith, and pure word of God. *Sixtus* also omitted no words, whereby he might make his Decree valid. Yet *Clement* VII. a while after undid all, revoked his Predecessors decree, suppressed his Edition, and publisheth another of his own, wherein he maketh more than 2000. corrections of *Sixtus* his Edition, as our Learned Dr. *James* hath in a peculiar Treatise shewed. To this so fatal an overthrow of the Papal Infallibility *Tannerus* [7] the Jesuit replyeth, that *Sixtus* his Decree was not Authentic, nor did oblige, because not promulged in the due form, that is not affixed, or at least not the whole due time, to the doors of St. *Peters* Church, the Apostolick *Chancery*, and in *Flora's* Field: And this he proveth by the here say Testimonies of *Bellarmine*, and *Ferdinandus Albertus* the Jesuit: Although in the printed Copies of the Bull the Messengers Names are found subscribed testifying that all the wonted Solemnities of promulgation were observed.

Ad non totum hoc judicium proprie & specialiter pertinet. —— *Hac perpetuo valitura Constitutione, de Venerab. Fratrum consensu & Consilio, de certâ suâ scientiâ, & Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine,* —— *Apostolicâ sibi a Domino traditâ authoritate.*

[7] Tann. *de fide* Disp. 1. quæst. 4. dub. 6.

To this *Launoy*, [8] rejoyns that these are meer tricks to establish the authority of the Roman Court, and impose upon unwary men, if yet any can be found so foolish as to regard them. Hath Christ therefore appropriated the Infallibility, conferred on his Vicar, to Walls and doors, that his definitions cannot be infallible, unless these petty punctilio's be observed: That these pretences of *Tannerus. Vasquez, Bellarmine*, and others, *are madness and Foppery, frivolous*

[8] Laun. Epist part. 1. p. 144.

Delramenta loquitur, Iberas nanias sectatur, & frivola Siculis gerris vaniora Theologiæ importat. Hæc referre me pudet.

frivolous impertinence, and shameful nonsense. That *promulgation signifies nothing to the Popes Infallibility; nor addeth any truth or falsehood to the definition, but supposeth it in them. For if it be false the Promulgation will not make it true, although it be published by a thousand Messengers, and affixed to St.* Peters *doors to all Eternity:* That Sixtus *in defining that, for which his Bull was abrogated, did plainly err; and that* Clement *in abrogating his Bull and suppressing his Edition ought himself to have believed this, at least gave others occasion to believe it.* Thus *Launoy.*

I might add it hath hitherto been believed that this Infallibility doth proceed from the Holy Ghost. But when should the Holy Ghost confer it? Surely, if ever, while the question is discussing and defining. Whereas now when the Pope hath done all that lay in his power, and nothing remains but only some petty circumstances of promulgation to be performed by servile and illiterate Messengers; then only, and not till then, doth this Infallibility exert it self; which makes the Pope fallible, and the Messengers infallible. For the first may pronounce somewhat false, the latter nothing but what is true. But passing by all these things, suppose this excuse well grounded. Yet have I obtained, what was to prove that there may be sometime wanting in the Pope that diligence which is necessary to define well. For this consists not in the circumstances of Promulgation, but in examining the question, inquiring the truth, and weighing the reasons. What if after all it be not duly published by Messengers: That concerns not my argument, nor hinders the precedent negligence of the Pope.

Besides, if without these solemnities of Promulgation no Bulls be obligatory, the authority of the Decrees of all antient Popes may be justly doubted of. For who can assure us that all these circumstances were then observed, when it is the height of folly to think they were so much as known. Either these therefore are not necessary, or the ancient Decretals are all void. But suppose they are necessary: That they are not wanting to this Bull of *Sixtus* the subscriptions of the Messengers do testifie. I know it is pretended that they were added by anticipation only to hasten the Edition. But that serveth my purpose as well. For must every one, that receive a Bull, suspend his obedience, till he shall ride post to *Rome*, and consult the Registres? And hence appears the uncertainty of the second condition required to the Infallibility of any Papal Decree. For if the Testimony of the Bull it self be sometimes false

falſe, and we be forced to pick up the Truth from flying reports; how ſhall we be ever aſſured, that the Decree was duly Promulged?

One thing more we may obſerve, that even by *Tanners* confeſſion ſome reported, that the Decree of *Sixtus* was really affixed in the due places, and taken down after his death. This *Compton* [9] alſo dares not deny, but leaves it to the Reader to be believed or rejected by him. But if the Bull was not taken down, till *Sixtus* died; then *Sixtus* erred as long as he lived, and promoted errour as far as in him lay; and what is the chief of all, uſed not the neceſſary diligence to avoid errour.

[9] Compt. *in* 2. 2. Diſp. 22. Sect. 5.

CHAP. VIII.

That it is not certain, whether the Pope defineth according to his own mind, or againſt his conſcience: and that this latter caſe may happen, is proved by many examples.

WE are not yet got rid of our doubts and perplexities. Thoſe which we have already mentioned, are external, and obvious to the ſenſes, if not of all, yet at leaſt of ſome. Whereas here is one unkown and impenetrable to all but the Pope himſelf, to wit, his own Conſcience. For to judge right it is required, that he pronounceth what he thinks is true, and not decree againſt his judgment for any fear or force. That the Pope notwithſtanding hath not always ſuch an aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, as conſtantly to withſtand theſe attempts; I ſhall demonſtrate by four examples, thoſe of *Marcellinus*, *Liberius*, *Paſchal II.* and *Eugenius IV.*

That Pope *Mercellinus* under *Diocletian*'s perſecution did deny the Faith, publickly ſacrifice to Idols, and was for that reaſon depoſed in the Synod of *Sinueſſa*; is acknowledged by Pope *Damaſus*, or whoſoever be the Author of the *Liber Pontificalis*, by *Nicolas* I. *Luitprandus*, *Marianus Scotus*, *Martinus Polonus*, *Gerſon*, *Cuſanus*, *Hoſius*, *Platina*, *Papyrius Maſſo*, *Bellarmine* in the firſt Edition of his Controverſies, *Baronius* in the ſecond Edition of his *Annals*, *Amicus*, *Emanuel a Schelſtrate*, and many others. I know indeed that ſome deny it, relying on the ſilence of *Euſebius*, and teſtimony of St. *Auſtin*, who ſaith the Donatiſts objected this to *Marcellinus*, but could not prove it. Whether the fact be true or no, it is enough for me that Pope *Nicolas* I. and many others thought ſo. *Baronius* [1] infinuates this, when

[1] *Non tanti ſumus, ut de Marcellini lapſu opinionem ore omnium diffamatam antiquare poſſimus; quæ & communi ferè omnium conſenſu appareat poſtea eſſe credita*, Bar. ad An. 302 Edit. Plant. p. 800.

in the first Edition of his *Annals*, where he endeavours to elevate the Faith of this History, he excuseth himself, for opposing *the common and almost universal opinion*. And *Natalis Alexander* [2] observes, that the Roman Breviary favours this belief. Whence it is evident, that this thing seemed neither impossible nor improbable to the whole Roman Church: which shews that according to the opinion commonly received in her, the Popes may possibly be moved by some vehement perturbation of mind to betray the Faith. *Bellarmines* [3] excuse here will not avail, *That* Marcellinus *taught nothing against the Faith, was no Heretick or Infidel, but in external act, for fear of death.* For (to pass by the accusation of the Synod of *Sinuessa*, that he did it for the love of mony) even this demonstrates what I was to prove, that a Pope may be induced by some perturbation of mind, as fear or covetousness, to violate his Conscience, and betray the truth.

[2] Nat. Hist. Eccl. Sæc. 3. Dis. 20.

[3] *Non nisi actu externo ob metum mortis.* Bell.

Liberius comes next, who after he had bravely a while resisted the threats of *Constantius*, either weared out with the hardship of his Exile, or moved with the desire of recovering his See possessed by *Fælix*; subscribed to the *Arian* Heresie, and the sentence against *Athanasius*, *Bellarmine* pleads much in his excuse: The sum of which is this, That *Liberius* his fault consisted only in condemning *Athanasius*, and communicating with Hereticks; that himself neither taught Heresie, nor was an Heretick but in external action; lastly that the Confession, which he subscribed, was orthodox, although the word ὁμοούσιος were wanting; and that according to *Sozomen* before his departure from *Sirmium* he published a Confession, wherein he condemned the *Heterousians*. But this answer of *Bellarmines* is wholly insufficient. For 1. Whereas he pretends *Liberius* was an Heretick only in external act, that no less serves our purpose, as manifesting that a Pope may be wrought by his passions to pronounce in matters of Faith against his own knowledg and judgment. 2. If he condemned *Athanasius*, it was not because he was by the false accusations of the *Arians* induced to believe *Athanasius* guilty, but only that he might free himself from the miseries of banishment, and the fears of death: As *Athanasius* [4] witnesseth. In the first case he had only erred in matter of fact; but now he failed in constancy: Which also proves my assertion. 3. To communicate with known Hereticks, as *Bellarmine* acknowledgeth *Liberius* to have done, is to favour Heresie, and add authority to it. *Christianus Lupus* largely handles this *ad præscript.* Tertulliani *cap.* 41. where he strongly

[4] Ὁ δὲ Λιβέριος ἐξορισθεὶς ὕστερον μετὰ διετῆ χρόνον ὤκλαβε, καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὸν ἀπηλεύμενον θάνατον ἐπέγραψεν Athanas. Epist. ad Solit.

ſtrongly urgeth the example of the whole Clergy of *Rome*, who ſeperated themſelves from the Communion of Pope *Anaſtaſius*; meerly becauſe he had not denied Communion to a Deacon of *Theſſalonica* of *Acacius* his party, who yet was far from an open Heretick. 4. Where *Bellarmine* denieth *Liberius* to have ſubſcribed to an Heretical Confeſſion of Faith; this is manifeſtly repugnant to the plain Teſtimonies of the Antients. We ſhall produce ſome. *Liberius* [5] himſelf in his Epiſtle to the Eaſtern Biſhops (who were *Arians*) tells them that *he is convinced the Condemnation of* Athanaſius *was juſt, whom therefore he looked on as Excommunicate, and would maintain Peace and Unanimity with them. That he ſubſcribed at* Sirmium *their Catholick Faith expounded unto him by* Demophilus (an *Arian* Biſhop.) And in his Epiſtle to *Valens, Urſacius,* and *Germinius* (the heads of the *Arrian* party) ſaith, *I profeſs to hold Communion with all you Biſhops of the Catholick Church: And Excommunicate all thoſe which ſhall diſſent from this our Bleſſed concord.* St. *Hillary* [6] denounceth a threefold Anathema againſt *Liberius* for this Subſcription, and calls him *a Prevaricator of the Faith,* and in another place ſaith, *the Hereſie penned at* Sirmium, *which* Liberius *calls Catholick, expounded to him by* Demophilus, *&c.* And tells *Conſtantius*, that *he ſent back* Liberius *to* Rome *with no leſs impiety, than wherewith he had before baniſhed him*; intimating, that he had made him an Heretick. St. *Hierome* [7] in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, ſaith Fortunatianus *is to be deteſted, for that he firſt broke the courage of* Liberius, *and perſwaded him to ſubſcribe to hereſie:* And in his Chronicle relates how Liberius *worn out with the toils of baniſhment: and having ſubſcribed to heretical pravity, entred* Rome *as a Conqueror. Auxilius* takes it for a thing moſt certain. *Who knows not,* ſaith he [8], *that* Liberius *ſubſcribed to the* Arrian *hereſie?* which he repeats in another place.[9] The old Roman Breviary [10] in the Feſtival of St. *Euſebius* the Confeſſor,

[5] *Vbi cognovi juſtè vos illum* (Athanaſium) *condemnâſſe; mox conſenſum meum commodavi ſectantiis veſtris.—Itaque amoto* Athanaſio *a Communione omnium dico me cum omnibus vobis pacem & unanimitatem habere. Nam—Dominus noſter & frater communis,* Demophilus, *qui dignatus eſt fidem veſtram & Catholicam exponere, quæ* Sirmii *ſuſcepta eſt,—Hanc ego libenti animo ſuſcepi,* &c. Liber. Epiſt. 7.

Me autem cum omnibus vobis Epiſcopis Eccleſiæ Catholicæ pacem habere his literis ſcire debetis, fratres chariſſimi.——Quicunque autem a pace & concordiâ noſtrâ diſſenſerit, ſciat ſe ſeparatum a noſtrâ communione.

[6] *Anathema tibi a me dictum* Liberi, *& ſciis tuis Iterum tibi Anathama, & tertio Prævaricator* Liberi, Hil *in* Fragm. *Perfidiam apud* Sirmium *conſcriptam, quam dixit* Liberius *Catholicam, a* Demophilo *ſibi expoſitam,* Id. ibid. *O te miſerum, qui neſcio utrum majori impietate relegaveris* (Liberium) *quàm remiſeris,* Id. lib. *ad* Conſtantium.

[7] *In hoc habetur deteſtabilis, quod* Liberium *primus ſollicitavit ac fregit, & ad ſubſcriptionem, hæreſeos impulit,* Hier. in Fortunat. Liberius *tædio victus exilii, & in hereticâ pravitate ſubſcribens,* Romam *quaſi victor intraverat,* Id. in Chron.

[8] *Quis neſciat, quod* Liberius *Arianæ hæreſi ſubſcripſerit?* Aux. de Ordin. lib. 1. cap. 25.

[9] Lib. 2. cap. 1.

[10] *Cùm doleret* (Euſebius) Liberium *Papam Arianæ hæreſi conſenſiſſe.* Breviar. Rom.

ſaith

saith; *Liberius consented to the* Arian *Heresie*: To these produced by *Launoy* I shall add three others. *Philostorgius* [11] affirms that *Liberius* and *Hosius* subscribed against the *Consubstantiality*, and against *Athanasius*. *Sozomen* [12] saith that *Constantius* sending for *Liberius* ἐβιάστετο ὁμολογεῖν μὴ εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὁμούσιον *forced him to confess that the Son is not consubstantial to the Father*: Where may be noted the disingenuous fraud of *Valesius*, who renders ἐβιάστετο only by *cæpit compellere*, *he began* (or went about *to compell him*. Lastly *Peter Damian* [13] Writes thus, *Liberius is known to have subscribed to the* Arian *Heresie, deceived with the error of perfidiousness*, and saith, that *after he was become an Apostate, he lived yet six years*. Many things might here be added to confute *Bellarmines* Answer, which because they belong more immediately to the Controversie of the Papal Infallibility; I shall omit them.

[11] Κατὰ μὲν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου, καὶ μὴν κατὰ γε τοῦ Ἀθανασίου ὑπογράψαι. Philost l. 4. c. 3.

[12] Soz. lib. 4. cap. 15.

[13] *Porro* Liberius *perfidiæ deceptus errore* Arianæ *hæresi subscripsisse dignoscitur.* —— Liberius *itaque factus Apostata sex annorum spatia supervixit.* Pet. Dam. Epist.

The third example is that of Pope *Paschal* II. All the World knows what quarrels were formerly between the Popes and Emperours about the Investiture of Bishops. The Emperours would suffer no Bishops in their Dominions, but what received Investiture from their hands: The Popes excommunicated both the Givers and Receivers of it. While the Controversie was yet hot, the Emperour *Henry* V. takes Pope *Paschal* Prisoner, and extorteth from him a Priviledg, whereby [14] the Pope yields and confirms to him and his Successors the Right of Investiture for ever; forbidding the Metropolitans to consecrate any Bishops or Abbots, but what have been first invested by the Emperour. Many then cryed out the Faith was violated, and Heresie established by this concession, particularly *Goffridus Vindocinensis*, out of whom *Christ. Lupus* [15] cites much to this purpose. And the whole Council of *Vien*, over whom *Guido* Archbshop of *Vien*, the Popes Legate presided, writ thus to Pope *Paschal* in their Synodical Epistle [16] *We have diligently examined the Priviledge by the Emperour extorted from your Majesty* (for so they call him) *Therefore by the direction of the Holy Ghost we have defined laick Investiture to be Heresie, and condemned that Priviledge.*

[14] *Illam dignitatis prærogativam nos dilectioni tuæ concedimus, præsentis privilegii paginâ confirmamus, ut regni tui Episcopis investituram virgæ & annuli conferas. Si quis item* &c. *apud* Marcam *de* Concord, lib. 8. cap. 20.

[15] Lup. diss. *de laicâ* Antist. invest.

[16] *Privilegium, quod a vestrâ Majestate violenter extorsit, tractare diligenter curavimus.* —— *Igitur dictante Sp. S. investituram omnem de manu laicâ hæresin esse judicavimus, & scriptum illud, quod Rex a vestrâ simplicitate extorsit, damnavimus.*

Nor

Nor did *Paſchal* himſelf defend his action; but in a full Council recanted his Errour, acknowledged his Fault, recalled his Priviledge, and ſubmitted himſelf to the cenſure and correction of the Council, pleading that he was compelled to that ſin by great neceſſities, which being done, *Girardus* Biſhop of *Angouleſme* ſtood up, (as the Acts of the Council publiſhed by *Baluzius* teſtify) and in the name of the Pope and Council, condemned, abrogated, and excommunicated this priviledge, declaring the reaſon to be, becauſe elect Biſhops were therein forbid to be conſecrated, before they had received Inveſtiture, *which* (ſay they) *is againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and canonical Inſtitution.* Now let the Reader judge, whether that can be defended, which the Pope himſelf confeſſeth to be *pravè factum, wickedly done*, and which the Council defineth to be *againſt the H. Ghoſt and canonical Inſtitution?* If the Pope can by a ſolemn Decree permit wicked things, certainly he muſt be fallible, if not in Faith, yet in Manners, if not in the *Credenda*, yet in the *Agenda* of Religion. For what *Lupus* [r] pleads, that *Paſchal*'s fault was like that of S[t] *Peter* carried away with the diſſimulation of the Jews, *Gal.* 2. of which *Tertullian* ſaith, it was *a fault of Converſation, not of Doctrine*; that, I ſay, is wholly vain and frivolous. For S[t] *Peter*'s fault conſiſted wholly in withdrawing his converſation from the Gentile Converts. But who ever accounted Priviledges a matter of Converſation? The one may be performed by every body, the other by none but perſons in Authority. *A priviledge*, ſaith Martin Bonacina [r], *is granted by him, who can make a law. So* Azorius, Suarez, *and* Salas. *The reaſon is, becauſe a priviledge is partly a Law, partly a Diſpenſation of the Law. Paſchal* therefore made a Law, which was to be for ever valid. S[t] *Peter* neither ſaid, writ, nor decreed any thing. What more unlike than theſe two! Nothing can here be ſaid, but what *Paſchal* himſelf pleaded, that he was conſtrained with great difficulties. This I do not deny: and it proves my aſſertion, *viz.* That Popes may be induced by fear to decree againſt their Conſcience.

Scriptum illud, quod magnis neceſſitatibus coactus — feci, — ſicut pravè factum cognoſco, ita pravè factum confiteor, & omnino corrigi — deſidero, &c.

Nos omnes in hoc S. Concilio coram D. Papâ congregati — judicio Sp. S. damnamus, &c. Et hoc ideo damnatum eſt, quòd in eo continetur — quod eſt contra Sp. S. & canonicam inſtitutionem.

[r] Lup. loc. cit.

[r] *Privilegium ab eo conceditur, à quo lex ferri poteſt. Ita* Azorius, &c. *Ratio eſt, tum quia privilegium eſt quædam lex; tum quia eſt quædam diſpenſatio in lege.* Bon. de legib. diſp. 1. quæſt. 2. §. 2.

The laſt example is that of Pope *Eugenius* IV. who having called

the Council of *Basil*, a little after dissolved it, and removed it to *Bononia*. The Council would not obey, but continued to sit: and consequently according to the Principles of our Adversaries became thenceforward unlawful. Wherefore *Leo* X. [t] in the Council of *Lateran* calls it *a False Counsel, or rather a Conventicle, which after that Translation deserved no longer to be called a Council*: Yet *Eugenius* [u] *revoked* his own dissolution, and pronounced the Council had, notwithstanding his Translation, been alwayes Catholick and lawful. Now the Council of *Basil* after the Popes dissolution was either lawful or unlawful. If lawful, *Leo* X. and the *Lateran* Council erred. If unlawful, *Eugenius* yet erred worse in legitimating a Council guilty of so great a Crime, as is Rebellion against the Head of the Church. For it cannot be said, the Council was really unlawful; but that *Eugenius* gave it that validity and authority, which it wanted, and purged away its Crimes. *Eugenius* himself professeth the contrary in his revocatory Bull of his Letters of Dissolution. Nothing therefore can be answered here, but what *Duval* [x] alledgeth, That this Bull was extorted by fear. *The Cardinals threatning, that unless he expedited his Bulls of adhesion to the Council, they would all forsake him.* This answer grants to me, what I was to demonstrate, that Popes may be prevailed on by fear to decree against Truth and Right. So that this being granted, as it cannot be denied, no Decrees of Popes are to be received; before we be assured, that the Pope was forced by no Fear or Threats to publish them: which can very difficultly be known, if at all. Besides, if Fear can extort a false or unjust Decree from the Pope; why may not any other perturbation, as Hatred, Anger, or Covetousness, do the same? Well saith *Canus* [y] in a like Argument. *He which will yield to Fear, must necessarily yield to Covetousness or any inordinate Desire.* Nothing therefore is more uncertain than the Papal Decrees. For who can tell, what induced the Pope to decree this or that? * *For what Man knoweth the things of a Man, save the spirit of Man which is in him?*

[t] *Conciliabulum seu potius Conventiculum, quæ præsertim post hujusmodi translationem Concilium amplius appellari non merebatur.*

[u] *Decernimus & declaramus præfatum generale Concilium* Basileense *à tempore prædicta inchoationis suæ legitimè inchoatum fuisse & esse*, &c.

[x] *Respondeo* Eugenium, *cum hæc scriberet: tunc à quibusdam Cardinalibus perterritum, & ni Bullas adhæsionis Concilio expediret, se ab eo omnes secessuros.* Duvall. Anteloqu. ad Tract. de potest. Pont.

[y] *Qui metu frangitur, is cupiditate etiam frangatur necesse est.* Can. loc. Theol. lib. 5. cap. 5.

* 1 Cor. ii. 11.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

That it is not certain, whether he who calls himself the Pope, *and is commonly accounted the* Pope, *be really such.*

THere remains yet another inextricable doubt. For suppose we have overcome all the precedent difficulties, and found some relief for so many uncertainties: It is yet to be inquired, whether he which makes the Decrees, and proposeth them to be observed by the Church, be the true and lawful Pope, as he is commonly esteemed. For while this be doubtful; we may justly doubt whether his Decrees be obligatory. Now this matter may by many wayes become uncertain. As first it sometimes happens, that two or more do at the same time contend for the Papacy; all of which have their several Partisans, by whom they are accounted the lawful Popes. Many such Schisms have been in the Church, whereof one continued near 50 years. The knowledge of the true Pope was then so difficult: that *Duvall* and *Maimburg* observe two Oecumenical Councils, those of *Pisa* and *Constance*, dared not to examine and define the matter; but thought it more prudent to depose all of them, and create a new One. How then shall private men be able to know, what Councils themselves could not find out? But neither then also, when One only claims the Papacy, and possesseth the Throne, doth it certainly appear, whether he be a lawful Pope: and that for many reasons.

For in the first place if he be an Heretick, a Schismatick, an Infidel, or an Atheist; he cannot surely be Pope. For as *Turrecremata* saith well, *how shall he be Head of the Church, who is no Member of the Church? Gregory à Valentia*[1], and many with him, distinguish between an open Heretick or Infidel, and a secret one, asserting the first cannot be a Member of the Church or Pope, the latter may, for this reason chiefly, because otherwise Confusions and Dangers could not be avoided in the Church, if the actions of secret Hereticks and Schismaticks were *ipso facto* invalid. Yet he acknowledgeth in the same place, that the contrary Opinion is held by the greatest Men in the Church of *Rome*, *Aquinas*, *Turrecremata*, *Sylvester* (who affirms this to be the com-

[1] Val. tom. 3. disp. 3. quæst. 15. punct. 3.

mon Opinion of all the Doctors) *Paludanus*, *Auguſtinus Anconitanus*, *Ulricus*, *Cajetanus* (at leaſt as to what concerns Hereſy) and *Alphonſus à Caſtro*. Whence this at leaſt is gathered, that *Valentia*'s Opinion is not certain, and the contrary not improbable: which is ſufficient for my purpoſe. For whether true or falſe, matters little in this caſe, provided nothing be certain on either ſide.

Further thoſe who imagine the Pope forfeits not his Dignity, unleſs he be an open Heretick, agree not among themſelves. Some think him *ipſo facto* deprived without expecting any ſentence, ſome not till ſentence is pronounced. But thſe latter herein ſhamefully betray the Popes Superiority to a Council, which they had undertaken to defend. For if a Pope fallen into Hereſy ſhall retain his Dignity, till he be judged and deprived by a Council; the Council will be thereby Superiour to a true and undoubted Pope. Again how ſhall a Council condemn a Pope for Hereſie; if it cannot certainly define what is Hereſie; which according to theſe Divines cannot be done by a Council deſtitute of its Head, ſuch as that Council muſt neceſſarily be, which depoſeth the Pope for Hereſy. But of that in another place. *Bellarmin* although far more wary and circumſpect than *Duvall*, thought the Pope by manifeſt Hereſie fell *ipſo facto* from his Dignity; ſo that by a Council he is not ſo much depoſed, as pronounced to be depoſed. But ſince that is called manifeſt Hereſie, which is declared by ſome outward ſign as Words or Writing, nor doth it matter whether it be manifeſt to few or many; there will alwayes remain a doubt, whether he who is accounted Orthodox, be not in his mind a Heretick, Infidel, or Atheiſt, and hath not revealed his Hereſie to ſome of his intimate Friends and Confidents. For that once ſuppoſed he cannot be Pope. Nay *Bannes* [b] aſſerts, That *he which ſpeaks out his Hereſy by words, although no man hears him, is not to be accounted a meer mental Heretick, but doth thereby incurr the Sentence of Excommunication.*

[b] Bann. in 22. quæſt. 11. art. 4.

If you ask, whether there were ever any ſuch Popes: The moſt noble *Jo. Fr. Picus Mirandula* [c] ſhall anſwer for me. *We remember*, ſaith *he*, *another Pope ſo eſteemed and ordained, whom good Men believed neither was nor could*

[c] *Alium meminimus pontificem creditum & ordinatum, quem tamen præſtantes viri putarent nec pontificem eſſe nec eſſe poſſe, utpote qui nullum Deum crederet, omne infidelitatis culmen excederet, &c. namq; faſſum eum affirmabatur domeſticis quibusdam nullum ſe deum aliquando etiam dum pontificiam ſedem teneret, credidiſſe. Et alium audivi pontificem, qui familiari cuidam aſſeruerat apud ſe animarum immortalitatem minimè creditam.* Pic. Theor. 4.

be

be Pope, as he which believed no God, and exceeded the utmoſt pitch of infidelity; as his Simony and infinite wickednesſes did alſo teſtifie. And it is affirmed he confeſſed to ſome of his Domeſticks, he believed no God; even then when he ſat in the Papal Chair. And I have heard of another Pope, who affirmed to one of his Confidents, that he did not believe the immortality of the Soul. To this we may add the expreſs Confeſſion of *Coſter*[d] the Jeſuit; *We confeſs*, ſaith he, *the Succeſſor of* Peter *may be an Idolater, a private Heretick, and in ſecret exerciſe Diabolick arts.*

[d] *Fatemur fieri poſſe, ut Petri ſucceſſor idola colat, apud ſe fortè de fide non rectè ſentiat, adeoq; diabolicis artibus operam naver.* Coſter. Enchirid. Controv. c. 3.

Secondly, It may be that the reputed Pope be for ſome unknown reaſon incapable of that Dignity; as if he be not baptized, or hath not received Holy Orders. For the Council of *Florence*[e] hath defined Baptiſm to be *the door to the other Sacraments*; and in the third Book of the Decretals, *Tit.* 43. it is commanded both by the Council of *Compeign* and by *Innocent* III. that if a Presbyter whom all accounted to have been baptized, ſhall afterwards appear not to have been baptized, he be firſt baptized, and then anew ordained. Wherefore if he be either not baptized, or not ordained, he cannot be Pope. But either or both may eaſily happen, ſince to the validity of thoſe, as well as other Sacraments, our Adverſaries require the intention of him that confers the Sacrament, which can be known to God alone.

[e] *Janua Sacramentorum.*

Thirdly, It may be that he who is commonly accounted Pope, may be unduly created, and for ſome Canonical impediment, manifeſt or occult, be uncapable of the Papacy. *For*, ſaith *Lupus*[f], *all Canonical irregularities of the perſon are not taken away by Election to the Popedom.* For which reaſon he there obſerveth *Pope* Conſtantine *was juſtly depoſed, as being of a Lay-man immediately made Pope; whereby he became irregular by the Canon of* Sardica: *and that, as is affirmed by approved Authors*, Clement VII. *dared not call a General Council againſt the Lutherans; becauſe being a Baſtard, he feared to be declared irregular.*

[f] *Neque enim gravis canonica perſonæ vitia per Papalem electionem ſanantur.* Lup. Schol. ad Conc. VIII. p. 1354.

Fourthly, He who is elected Pope, may be *ipſo facto* excommunicate, and ſo not capable of that Dignity. So *Picus Mirandula*[g] tells us of *a learned and ſober man in his time, and he a Dignitary of the Church; who gave it for his opinion, that the then Pope was no Pope, becauſe he had exerciſed the Office of Pope, before he had been elected by two parts of the Cardinals; whereas the Canons provide that ſuch a man ſhall be ſo far from being Pope, that he ſhall be ren-*

[g] *Pic. Theſ.* 4.

dred

dred uncapable of that Dignity, as lying under an Anathema. For the like cauſe it is reported the Jeſuits were reſolved not to acknowledge *Clement* VIII. for Pope, if he had condemned *Molina*, as he intended, becauſe of ſome flaw in his Election. It is an eſtabliſhed Rule of the Roman Conclave, That none be accounted duly elected, but who hath two third parts of the Cardinals Votes: Cardinal *Sanſeverino* had gained them, and thereby of right became Pope. But while they were giving their Votes in the Chappel, the diſſenting Cardinals crowded in, diſturbed thoſe who were taking the Votes, and perſwaded one of the other Cardinals to withdraw his Vote: whereby *Sanſeverino*, although duly elected, miſſed the Chair; and *Aldobrandino* conſecrated, who took upon him the Name of *Clement* VIII.

But theſe perhaps are very rare inſtances. Thoſe which follow are more frequent. It often happens, that the Election is not free, but extorted by force, threats, promiſes, bribes, factions, and the like arts. In which caſes the Popes themſelves have pronounced the Election to be null and irregular, and the elect Perſon an Antipope and Apoſtate. So *Nicolas* II. [h] decreed in a *Lateran* Council, *That all Elections procured by money, or favour, or popular tumult, or military violence, ſhould be null and void; and the Elect Pope accounted not Apoſtolical but Apoſtatical, to be anathematized by the whole Church as a Robber, and by any means depoſed.*

[h] *Plat. in Nicol. II.*

Non Apoſtolicus, ſed Apoſtaticus.

But *Julius* II. [i] is much more rigorous, who with the conſent of the Cardinals decreed and defined, *That Simony was true and undoubted Hereſie*, and that *in whatſoever Election that intervened by giving, receiving, or promiſing of money, or any other goods or Benefices, the Election ſhould be* ipſo facto *void; and the Elect, although he had the concurrent Votes of two thirds of, or even all the Cardinals, ſhould be no Pope, but made for ever uncapable of that or any other Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, and be held and deteſted by all Chriſtians as an Apoſtate, Simoniach, Hereſiarch, Magician, Heathen and Publican:* and that *the perſon thus Simoniacally elected ſhall never become regular, by any ſubſequent inthronization, or preſcription of time, or even the adoration or obedience of all the Cardinals.* Thus theſe Popes, truly and wiſely. For Chriſt had ſaid long before [k], *Verily, verily I ſay unto you, He that entreth not by the door into the ſheepfold, but climbeth up ſome other way,*

[i] *Sicut de verâ & indubitatâ hæreſi.*

Tanquam Apoſtaticus, Simoniacus, Hereſiarcha, Magus, Ethnicus, & Publicanus vitari.

Nec hujuſmodi Simoniacè electus per ſubſequentem ipſius inthronizationem, ſeu temporis curſum, aut etiam omnium Cardinalium adorationem ſeu obedientiam ullo unquam tempore convaleſcat. Habetur apud Raynald.

[k] John x. 1.

way, the ſame is a thief and a robber. And the Apoſtle after him [l], *No man taketh this honour unto himſelf, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.* Whoſoever therefore obtain the Popedom by evil arts; and enter not by the Door, but leap into the Chair by wickedneſs, are no lawful Paſtors, but Thieves, and Robbers, and ravening Wolves. [l] Hebr. v. 4.

But you will ſay, Were there ever ſuch Popes? I anſwer: why not? Certainly the very Conſtitutions of *Nicolas*, and *Julius*, and others, which might be added, prove it is poſſible, and inſinuate it hath ſometimes happened. For thoſe things are not wont to be forbidden, which cannot be performed: and it is a received Maxim, That *good Laws ariſe from bad Actions.* But we want not frequent Examples. For to paſs by what we before related out of *Picus Mirandula*, who knows not that *Vigilius* obtained the Popedom by three moſt hainous crimes, by the violent expulſion of his Predeceſſor *Silverius*, whom falſly accuſing of Treaſon, he procured to be baniſhed into the Iſland of *Palmeria*, and there ſtarved him to Death, or as others ſay, aſſaſſinated him; by promiſing to the Empreſs *Theodora*, he would eſtabliſh the *Eutychian* Hereſy; and by notorious Simony, giving to *Beliſarius* two Centenaries of Gold? Theſe things are accurately deſcribed by *Liberatus*, and after him by *Baronius*. Nor doth what *Baronius* [m], *Binius* [n], *Ferrandus* [o], and others alledge to obſcure this matter, avail any thing, to wit, that *Vigilius* after *Silverius* his death reſigned the Popedom, and would not reſume it till he was canonically elected. For to omit the inſufficiency of this excuſe, ſince *Vigilius* and all his adhærents were excommunicated by *Silverius*, and ſo even theſe pretended Canonical Electors became excommunicate; to paſs by this, the pretence it ſelf is falſe, being related by no one Writer of thoſe or the following times. They produce only *Anaſtaſius* ſaying that the See of *Silverius* was vacant ſix days. But this, ſay they, could not be while *Silverius* was alive, for he was all along the lawful Pope. *Ergo*, after his death *Vigilius* reſigned, and was choſen anew. A worthy Argument! As if thoſe who write the lives of Popes, are not wont to aſſign to them only that time, wherein they quietly enjoyed their Dignities *Papebrochius* obſerveth this: *Baronius*, ſaith he [p], *making* Silverius *his Popedom to laſt four years, deferrs his Death to the* *Ex malis meritis bonæ leges.*

[m] Bar. *ad ann.* 540.
[n] Bin. *in* Vigil.
[o] Ferr. *Traite de l' Egliſe* chap. 3.

[p] Baronius *integrum quadriennium faciens durare Pontificatum* Silverii, *&c. Sed malumus juxta modum loquendi Catalogorum veterum jam alibi obſervatum plus unâ vice ſolùm, id tempus numerare, quo* Romæ *ſedit; licèt, &c.* Pap. Propyl. *ad menſ.* Maium in Vigil. diſſert. 13.

year

year 540. *But we rather chuſe according to the uſual ſtyle of the antient Catalogues, more than once obſerved before, to reckon only that time while he ſate at* Rome; *although he never ceaſed to be Pope by the injury he ſuffered.* But to take away all pretence, I ſay, that *Anaſtaſius* not only might reſpect the time of his depoſition, and not of his death, but that alſo he really did ſo. For to whom doth *Anaſtaſius* reckon the two years, or thereabouts, wherein according to *Baronius*, *Vigilius* poſſeſſed the See of *Silverius* yet alive? They ſay to *Silverius*, I ſay to *Vigilius*, and demonſtrate it paſt all doubt. For if *Anaſtaſius* had aſſigned thoſe two years to *Silverius*; he would have given to him in all above three years, to wit, thoſe two years, and the ſeventeen months, that he enjoyed his See quietly. Yet he reckons thus in the whole,

[q] *Sedit annum unum, menſes quinque, dies undecim.*

[q] *Silverius ſat one year, five months, and eleven days*; aſſigning to him only that time which paſſed between his Election and Expulſion. The caſe is no leſs clear in *Vigilius*. *Baronius* computes, that almoſt eighteen years paſſed from the Ejection of *Silverius* to the death of *Vigilius*. Juſt ſo many doth *Anaſtaſius* aſſign to *Vigilius* his Papacy. *He ſat*, ſaith he [r], *ſeventeen years, ſix months, twenty ſix dayes.* 'Tis manifeſt therefore *Anaſtaſius* aſſigns the time that *Silverius* ſurvived his Expulſion, to the Popedom of *Vigilius*; and conſequently that theſe ſix days of vacancy of the See, immediately followed not the Death, but the Expulſion of *Silverius*. So that this whole ſtory of the Reſignation and new Election of *Vigilius* is a meer Fable. Nor doth *Papebrochius* deny this, *This Reſignation*, ſaith he [s], *is aſſerted gratis, as not neceſſary for* Vigilius, *who could not want ſpecious reaſons to declare the Conſecration of* Silverius *null, as made againſt the Canons, and not certainly enough purged by the ſubſequent conſent of the Clergy, which ſeemed not wholly free, but extorted by fear.* Thus he, whereby inſtead of one Example of Simony he hath given me two, of *Vigilius* whom he doth not ſufficiently purge, and of *Silverius*. He doth not clear *Vigilius*; for whatſoever *Silverius* was, he ought not to have been falſly accuſed, oppreſſed, baniſhed, and murdered by the procurement of *Vigilius*. Beſides the promiſes made to *Theodora*, and the Money given to *Beliſarius* make him guilty of Simony, although the See had been duly vacant, or *Silverius* dead. Now for what *Papebrochius* inſinuates of *Silverius* his

[r] *Sedit annos* XVII. *menſes* VI. *dies* XXVI.

[s] *Sed gratis aſſeritur renunciatio minimè neceſſaria ei, cui cauſæ non deerant in ſpeciem juſtæ ob quas poterat judicare ordinationem* Silverii *nullam fuiſſe, utpote contra Canones factam, nec per ſubſecutum Cleri conſenſum ſatis certò purgatam, cùm neque hic totus liber videretur, ſed metu extortus.* Id. ibid.

his Simony, *Liberatus* writes that *Theodatus* King of the *Goths* by violence forced the Clergy to Elect him. So one *Simoniack* succeeded another; one *Usurper* followed another.

But of this enough. Of the Popes of the X. Age let *Genebrard* speak. An Age, saith he [t], *unhappy in this one thing, that for almost* 150 *years about* 50 *Popes together, from* John VII. *to Leo* IX. *degenerated wholly from the vertue of their Predecessors; and ought rather to be called Renegadoes and Apostates, than Apostolick; since they entred not in by the Gate, but by the back Door, viz. by the Tyranny of the Emperours.* And in another place, *The Popes of that time, as intruded rather by the Emperours, than chosen, were monsters.* Or let *Baronius* [u] be heard. *What was then the face of the Church of* Rome? *how very ugly! when impudent and filthy Whores governed all at* Rome; *who changed Sees at their pleasure, disposed of Bishopricks, and what is dreadful to speak, intruded their Gallants into the See of* Peter. *No mention then made of the Clergy electing or consenting, the Canons were all trod under foot, Decrees of Popes despised, the Antient Traditions turned out of Doors, and the Old Customs, Sacred Rites, and former use of Electing Popes wholly extinct.* Hence at every turn he calls the Popes of these times *Intruders* and *Usurpers*, and at the year 897, saith, [x] *Boniface* was driven out by *Stephen, one Intruder by another.* [x] *Intrusus ab intruso.*

[t] *Seculum hoc uno infelix, quòd per annos ferè* CL. *Pontifices circiter* L.—— *à virtute majorum prorsus defecerint; Apostatici, Apostaticive potiùs, quàm Apostolici, quando non per ostium, sed per posticum, i.e. Imperatorum tyrannidem ingrediebantur.* Genebr. Chron. ad an. 901. *Istius temporis pontifices, ut intrusi ab Impp. potiùs quàm electi, monstra erant.* Id. ad an. 107.

[u] *Qua tunc facies S. Romanæ Eccl.-siæ? quàm sordidissima! cùm Romæ dominarentur impotentissimæ atque sordidissimæ meretrices, quarum arbitrio mutarentur sedes, darentur Episcopi, & quod auditu horrendum & infandum est, intruderentur in sedem Petri earum amasii Pseudo-Pontifices. Nunquam Cleri eligentis vel consentientis postea aliqua mentio: Canones omnes pressi silentio; Decreta Pontificum suffocata; proscripta antiqua traditiones, veteresque in eligendo pontifice consuetudines, sacrique ritus, & pristinus usus, prorsus extincti.* Bar. ad an. 908.

But to descend to particulars. Then was that infamous and scandalous Controversie about the Popedom of *Formosus*. *John* VIII. had deposed him from the Bishoprick of *Porto*. *Marinus* restored him. Afterwards himself was Elected Pope, and held the Chair six years; in which time he held a General Council, and was acknowledged by the whole World. Yet after his death his Successor *Stephen* VI. calls a Council, abrogates all his Decrees, annuls his Ordinations, diggs his Body out of the Grave, puts on it the Pontifical Robes, and set it in the Papal Chair, then solemnly deprives and degrades it, and having cut off his three fore-fingers (wherewith he performed Ordinations) cast

it into *Tyber*. *John* IX. who comes next, calls a new Synod, annuls whatſoever *Stephen* had done; and reſtoreth the memory and Decrees of *Formoſus*. *Sergius* a while after anathematized *Formoſus* anew, and abrogated whatſoever had been done in his favour by *John*. This occaſioned *Auxilius* a Writer of thoſe times to compoſe his Dialogue *againſt the inteſtine diſcord of the Church of* Rome (to uſe *Sigebert Gemblacenſis*'s [y] words) viz. *concerning the Ordinations, Exordinations, and Superordinations of the Popes of* Rome, *and the Exordinations and Superordinations of thoſe ordained by them*. And *Baronius* [z], is forced to ſay, *Theſe things were done by Intruders and Uſurpers of the Apoſtolick Throne; which lawful Popes have deteſted.*

[y] *Contra inteſtinam diſcordiam Romanæ Eccleſiæ, ſc. de ordinationibus, exordinat. & ſuperordinat. Romanorum Pontificum, & ordinatorum ab eis exordinationibus & ſuperordinat.* Sigebert. de Script. Eccl. cap. 112.

[z] *Hæc perpetrata ab intruſis & uſurpantibus thronum Apoſtolicum, quæ legitimi Pontifices ſunt execrati.* Bar. ad an. 908.

In the next Age the words of *Platina* deſerve to be obſerved. *The Papacy*, ſaith he [a], *was come to that; that he who exceeded, not in Piety and Learning, but, in Bribes and Ambition, obtained that dignity, good Men being oppreſſed and rejected: which cuſtom would to God our Ages had not ſometimes retained.* In latter Ages the Simony of *Alexander* in procuring the Popedom, partly by ready Money, partly by large Promiſes; is at length related by *Onuphrius*, and *Volaterran*, but eſpecially *Guiciardine*. And *Varillas* [b] tells us, that *Octavian Fregoſius* Duke of *Genua* procured the Election of *Leo* X. by the ſollicitation of his Emiſſaries among the Cardinals, and by detaining Priſoners in the mean while the Cardinals of the oppoſite Party; who haſtning to *Italy* by Sea, toucht at *Genua* in their Voyage. There would be no end, if I ſhould produce all the Examples, which Hiſtory ſuggeſts. And if the known inſtances be ſo many, what may we think of the ſecret Acts of Simony? For this is a Crime, whoſe chief art conſiſts in keeping it ſecret, and hiding it from the Eyes of Men. However what we have alledged, proves this may ſometimes happen; and conſequently that we can never be certain the ſame hath not happened, even when it doth not appear. And from all, which hath been ſaid, appeareth the impoſſibility of certainly knowing, whether he which poſſeſſeth the Papal Throne at any time, be a lawful Pope; and ſuch, whoſe Decrees may be ſecurely believed and obeyed. Our

[a] *Eo tum Pontificatus devenerat, ut qui plus largitione & ambitione, non dico ſanctitate vitæ & doctrinâ, valeret, tantum dignitatis gradum bonis oppreſſis & rejectis obtineret: quem morem utinam aliquando non retinuiſſent noſtra tempora.* Plat. in vitâ Sylveſtri III.

[b] Varil. Hiſt. Franc. 1. Liv. 1.

Our Adversaries are here brought into great streights. *Duval* [c] confesseth, it is a great difficulty, and what hath excited no small stirs in some Universities. To solve this, they take different ways. Some deny it can ever happen, that an unlawful Pope should possess the Chair; and that it is of Faith to believe every particular Pope lawful. So *Suarez*, *Valentia*, *Arriaga*, *Raynaudus*, *Castrensis*, *Martinonus*, *Rhodius*, and others cited by them: and with reason. For if this be not of Faith; no Faith can be founded on their Decrees, as they invincibly argue. But on the other side, how can that be of Faith, which so many Examples prove to be false? Or on what foundation shall this Divine Faith be placed? *Suarez* and *Martinonus* answer upon the reception of the Church: and 'tis worth observing how they confirm that. *Because if it should be once granted*, saith *Suarez* [d], *that an errour of this nature can happen in the universal Church; it can be no ways true, that she hath a certain and infallible living Rule of Faith speaking to her in Christ's Name.* The same saith *Martinonus* [e]. Both add, that this errour would be equal to an errour in Faith: *For*, say they, *if it be an intolerable errour in the Church, when the whole Church believeth a Book to be Canonical, which is not; although that be but a dead rule of Faith; it would be much more intolerable to err about the living rule of Faith.* That they reason soundly, cannot be denied. For it is no less repugnant to absolute Infallibility to err about the living than about the dead rule. But this being admitted, I shall much more easily prove the Church can err about the dead Rule, than *Suarez*, that it cannot err about the living. That it cannot err about the dead Rule our Adversaries can never prove: that it can about the living, I will demonstrate. If ever any Pope was unlawful and irregular, surely *Vigilius* was. Yet he was owned and esteemed as lawful Pope by the fifth General Council, and by the whole World. Although he were banished, imprisoned, and publickly vilified by the Emperour for the refusing to condemn the *Tria Capitula*, and afterwards excommunicated by the Western Bishops for doing it; yet was he never denied to be true and lawful Pope. So in the ninth and tenth Ages those monstrous Popes were, by *Baronius* [f] his confession, *so honoured and reverenced by All the Faithful, that whomsoe-*

[c] *Duval. de Potest. Pont. par. 2. Sect. 5.*

[d] *Si talis posset semel dari error in universali Ecclesiâ; nunquam esset verum illam habere certam & infallibilem regulam vivam fidei sibi loquentem Christi nomine.* Suar. de fide, disp. 10. Sect. 5.

[e] Mart. de fide, disp. 5. Sect. 6. *Nam si error æquiparatur errori in fide——multo intolerabilius esset errare in vivâ fidei regulâ.* Idem ibid.

[f] *At, quod mirandum est, isti (Pontifices) licèt tales fuerint, tamen eo honore & reverentiâ si-*

deles omnes prosequebantur Romanam Eccl. ut quemcunque in eâ sedentem audirent nomine tenus Pontificem, eundem, mirum dictu! nullâ habitâ discussione ejus ingressûs, eum ut Petrum colerent. Bar. ad an. 897.

whomsoever they heard did preside in the Church of Rome, *although indeed but a nominal Pope, never enquiring into the Lawfulness of his Election, they respected no otherwise than St.* Peter *himself.* In a word, all those whom I mentioned before, were generally obeyed by the Church. The Church therefore can err in this matter. But see how *Suarez* and the rest, by pretending the contrary, have destroyed their own darling Opinion. For if it be of Faith, that a Pope acknowledged by the whole Church, is a lawful one; then *Stephen*, *Romanus*, and *Sergius*, who condemned *Formosus*, and annulled his Acts as not being lawful Pope, erred; and so farewel all Papal Infallibility. For they erred in the Faith; if it be of Faith that *Formosus* was lawful Pope, as it must be according to these Divines; since *Formosus*, while he lived, was acknowledged and obeyed by the universal Church; whereas these three Popes his Successours defined, that he was no lawful Pope.

Duval perhaps was aware of these inconveniencies, and therefore took another method. He maintains it matters nothing, whether he which possesseth the Popedom, be true Pope or no; and that his Decrees will not be at all the less infallible. *We affirm*, saith he [t], *that such a Pope esteemed for true, can never err. For God, lest falshood be obtruded upon his Church for truth, will never permit him to err, and that according to the common and ordinary Law: because the Pope is not for himself, but for the Church.* But there is nothing solid in all this. For first his reason is vain. For if the Pope be not for himself, but for the Church; no more are any other Governours of the Church. Shall therefore whatsoever they do be valid, although they be neither baptized nor ordained? To think so, *Suarez* calls Heresie, nor will *Duval* allow it. Yet allow it he must, or else part with his Argument. Secondly, this is directly contrary to *Julius* II. his Decree. For *Duval* would have a Simoniack or irregular Pope to be obeyed and heard. *Julius* commands him to be looked upon as an Heresiarch and Magician, to be disobeyed, deprived, and driven out of his See. Thirdly, if we consult Scripture, that forbids us to hearken to these Invaders of Church Offices. For our Saviour, after he had said that those which enter into the sheepfold any other way,

[t] *Dicimus talem Pontificem pro vero creditum nunquam erraturum——ne in Ecclesiam falsum pro vero obtrudatur, nunquam eum Deus errare sinet, & quidem secundum legem communem & ordinariam.* Duvall. de potest. Pont. par. 2. qu. 5.

way, than by the door, are Thieves and Robbers: adds [b], *And a ſtranger will they* (the ſheep) *not follow, but will flee from him: for they know not the voice of Strangers.* And in another place [i], *Beware of falſe Prophets, which come to you in ſheeps cloathing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves.* Now *Simoniacks* and *Uſurpers* of Eccleſiaſtical Offices are theſe Thieves and Robbers, and ravening Wolves.

[b] John x. 5.

[i] Mat. vii. 15.

Now as for reaſon, that can never teach us, that we owe the ſame reverence to unlawful, as to lawful Popes. For contrarily in the Civil Government every man is bound even to diſobey a Tyrant and Uſurper, who drives out the lawful Prince. Beſides, ſince Infallibility is by our Adverſaries annexed to the Popedom as an inſeparable Priviledge; he that is no Pope can have no right nor claim to it. So ſaith alſo *Martinonus* [k] expreſly; *This Power and Aſſiſtance is given to none but a true Pope, to whom only it was promiſed in* Peter. And it ſeems indeed incredible to me, that any wicked man ſhould extort that from God by his Crimes, which he had annexed to a lawful ſucceſſion. As if by Wickedneſs he could obtain a right to the perpetual aſſiſtance of the H. Ghoſt; which had he been innocent, he had for ever wanted? Certainly the Antient Popes thought far otherwiſe. They never dreamed of purchaſing the H. Ghoſt by Simony, but rather imagined that would obſtruct his favour. So *Innocent* I. [l] ſpeaking of *Simoniacks*, ſaith, *They have loſt that perfection of the H. Ghoſt, which they had received. Neither can they give the fulneſs of it, which exerts it ſelf chiefly in Ordinations, having forfeited it by the perfidiouſneſs of their Impiety.* Gregory I. [m] *They which in the Temple of God preſume to ſell Doves* (by which, as in the words immediately precedent appears, he means *Simoniacks*) *their Biſhopricks by the judgment of God are become void; which error is propagated with increaſe in thoſe who are ſubject to them. For whom any one ordaint for Mony, by ordaining he makes him an Heretick.* Which words he repeats more than ten times in his other Epiſtles. *John* VIII. [n] hath uſed the ſame Expreſſions in one of his Epiſtles. And *Peter Damian* tells us this

[k] *Hujuſmodi poteſtas & aſſiſtentia non datur Pontifici niſi vero, cui ſoli eſt promiſſa in* Petro. Mart. de fide diſp. 9. Sect. 6.

[l] *Perfectionem Spiritûs quam acceperant, amiſerunt. Nec dare ejus plenitudinem poſſunt, quæ maximè in ordinationibus operatur, quam per impietatis ſuæ perfidiam perdiderunt.* Innoc. 1. Epiſt. 18. cap. 13.

[m] *Quia qui in templo Dei columbas vendere præſumpſerunt, eorum Deo judice cathedra ceciderunt: qui videlicet error in ſubditis cum augmento propagatur. —quia eum quem quis cum pretio ordinat, provehendo agit ut hæreticus fiat.* Greg. I. lib. 4. Epiſt. 50.

[n] Joann. VIII. Epiſt. 94.

this was confirmed by a miracle. For a *Simoniacal* Biſhop could never pronounce the Name of the H. Ghoſt: on which he makes °this remark. *For he deſervedly loſt the H. Ghoſt while he bought him.*

° *Merito ſiquidem Spiritum S. dum emit, amiſit.* P. Dam. Opuſc. 19. cap. 6.

But to return to our Argument; what more incredible, than that an Atheiſt, Infidel, and profane perſon ſhould be infallible? Who would not wonder at a Pope pronouncing and deriding Oracles at the ſame time? Infallible and ignorant of his Infallibility? Teaching with certainty what himſelf thinks to be falſe? Surely if things be ſo; an irregular and uſurping Pope ought not in prudence to be depoſed: Since his Infallibility, as well as that of any lawful Pope, will ſerve to direct the Faithful, and confound Hereticks; and his Depoſition cannot be attempted without the danger of Schiſm. Laſtly I would know, whether when an unlawful poſſeſſeth the Throne of a lawful Pope; Infallibility belong to both, or only to the firſt. If to both, then in vain doth God diſpenſe ſo great a gift to the injured Pope, whom no Body acknowledgeth as ſuch. If only to the firſt, then the Priviledges of an Intruder will be more and greater, than thoſe of a lawful Pope; and Uſurpation will confer, what Canonical Election cannot. To theſe add the Arguments, which *Suarez* ? produceth againſt this Anſwer: As, *That it incurreth the ſame difficulties it is brought to ſolve. For it is not more certain that a reputed Pope hath the Priviledge of Infallibility, than that he is a lawful Pope: Since both depend upon the common belief of the Church, and neither is revealed. Again, if he be only a Nominal Pope, he may be alſo only a Nominal Prieſt, and ſo cannot give Abſolution, hath therefore no right to all the Priviledges granted by Chriſt to* St. Peter, *becauſe no ſhare in the Power delegated to* S. Peter *in thoſe words,* Whatſoever thou ſhalt bind on Earth, *&c. Farther that Anſwer is contradictory in aſſigning to the reputed Pope an inſeparable property of the Papacy,* (Infallibility) *and yet denying him to be Pope, that is, truly ſo.*

? Suar. de fide diſp. 10. § 6.

It is manifeſt therefore, that this Anſwer is plainly falſe: But let it be true. What ſtill if it ſhall be uncertain? It will be in the end the ſame thing; and we ſhall as eaſily obtain our deſign. For if I may doubt whether he be lawful Pope that poſſeſſeth the Chair; and alſo whether an unlawful Pope enjoyeth the Priviledge of Infallibility: I may then juſtly doubt, whether I ought to aſſent

aſſent to the Decree of every ſingle Pope, and can never be certain of it. That the firſt is uncertain I have already ſhewed. That the latter is not certain, Our Adverſaries will not deny. For if any, it muſt be the certainty of Faith; which *Duvall* will never grant, who denies even the Infallibility of a lawful Pope to be of Faith. If any one yet ſhall diſſent from *Duvall*, and contend that it is of Faith: he may be convinced by the ſame Arguments, which we produced againſt the reſt. He may be asked where God revealed it, or the Church defined it. He may be told that Defenders of the contrary Opinion were never yet accuſed or condemned of Hereſie. Laſtly, He may be put in mind of *Stephen*, *Romanus*, and *Sergius*, who declaring *Formoſus* to have been an unlawful Pope, did alſo annull his Decrees. But I need not inſiſt upon refuting that, which no man maintains. So that we may conclude there is no certainty to be had in this matter, and therefore that Faith cannot ſafely rely on the Pope's Sentence.

CHAP. X.

Wherein is prevented an Evaſion, whereby Duvall *endeavours to elude whatſoever hath been hitherto ſaid concerning the* Pope.

Duvall [a] oppreſſed with ſo many Difficulties, takes refuge in ſaying, *The Definitions of the Pope are not of Faith, before the Church, whoſe Infallibility is of Faith, hath received them.* I might juſtly reſt here, ince *Duvall* hereby grants us all we deſire, *viz.* that faith cannot be founded upon the definition of the Pope alone. Whether the Churches Authority adds certainty to it, I ſhall enquire hereafter. In the mean while that the Truth maybe on all ſides more manifeſt, and becauſe many things now occur not proper for another place; I will more accurately

[a] *Reſpondeo definitiones Pontificis non eſſe de fide, donec univerſalis Eccleſia, quam de fide eſt errare non poſſe, eas acceptaverit.* Duvall. de poteſt. Pont. part. 2. qu. 5.

ly conſider *Duval*'s argument. And firſt, *Duval* hereby is not conſonant to himſelf. For if the Pope's Decrees be not of Faith, till received by the Church, then the Pope alone is not a Rule of Faith, but an aggregate of Pope and Church together: whenas *Duval* in another place [b] teaches there are five Rules of Faith, the Church Scripture, Tradition, Council, and Pope; whereof every one is ſo independent and ſufficient, that whatſoever it ſhall propoſe is moſt firmly to be believed: not to ſay that hereby the perfections of a Rule of Faith will appear much more eminently in the Church than in the Pope; ſince the Church can direct our Faith without the Pope, but not the Pope without the Church; whereas *Duval* [c] teaches the quite contrary. Herein therefore he is neither conſonant to himſelf, nor to the other Patrons of Papal Infallibility, while he denies obedience to be due to the Popes Decrees, till they be received and confirmed by the Church: this being very near the opinion of the Sorboniſts, thoſe great Enemies of the Popes Infallibility. For the Faculty of Divinity [d] propoſed their opinion in the year 1663. in theſe words; *It is not the judgment of this Faculty, that the Pope is infallible without the conſent of the Church.* And the Clergy of *France* in the year 1682. determined [e], *That queſtions of Faith chiefly pertained to the Pope, and that his Decrees concerned all Churches: yet that his ſentence was not irreformable, unleſs the conſent of the Church had ſupervened.* How little doth *Duval*'s opinion differ from this? who maintains that the Popes Sentence is indeed infallible before the reception of the Church, but appears not ſo to be till then. For if ſo, whether fallible or infallible, it ſignifies not: in matter of practice it will be the ſame, and aſſent will be equally denied to the Popes Decrees, until they ſhall have been admitted by the Church.

[b] *Id. in* 22. *pag.* 62.

[c] *Ibid. p.* 215.

[d] *Facultatis dogma non eſt quòd ſummus Pontifex nullo accedente Eccleſiæ conſenſu ſit infallibilis.*

[e] *In quæſtionibus fidei præcipuas Summi Pontificis eſſe partes, ejuſq; Decreta ad ſingulas Eccleſias pertinere; nec tamen irreformabile eſſe judicium, niſi Eccleſiæ conſenſus acceſſerit.*

In the next place this Anſwer accuſeth of raſhneſs and imprudence the far greater part of the Church of *Rome*; which without expecting the approbation of the univerſal Church, blindly receives the Papal Decrees, howſoever yet uncertain. But that is of leſs moment. This I would gladly know, whether the Church, whoſe reception makes the Papal Decrees to become of Faith, ought to receive them without any precedent examination, or not

not till ſhe hath accurately compared them with the Word of God. If the latter, then we have no definition, on which Faith can rely. For I dare confidently affirm, there is none, which the Church hath thus examined and approved. Few undergo that labour: moſt blindly follow the Dictates of the Pope. Not to ſay, that this is intirely repugnant to that profound ſubmiſſion, wherewith the Decrees of the Head of the Church ought to be received: or that according to this Principle the Pope ought, together with his Decree, to tranſmit to ſeveral Biſhops the reaſons of it; ſince without the knowledge of theſe they cannot be duly examined; or that the Pope is highly unjuſt, who without being firſt certified of their univerſal approbation, excommunicates and puniſheth the contemners of them: I will only urge, that by this means the ſupreme Power is tranſlated from the Pope to the Church, as which paſſeth the laſt and peremptory Sentence, not only on things to be believed, but even on the Decrees of the Popes themſelves. How this will agree with the Doctrine of our preſent Adverſaries; let them ſee to it. Certainly *Raynaudus*, and the Author [f] of the Treatiſe *of the Liberties of the Gallican Church* think far otherwiſe: of whom the latter beſtows a whole Chapter to prove this very Propoſition, That the Papal Decrees are not therefore to be obeyed, becauſe confirmed by the Churches conſent; but therefore conſented to by the Church, becauſe antecedently infallible.

[f] *De Lib. Eccleſ. Gall.* lib. 7. cap. 17.

But if the Pope's Decrees are to be received by the Church with a blind aſſent, and without any previous examination. I do not ſee of what weight ſuch a reception can be; which according to this ſuppoſal muſt be granted to falſe Decrees, as well as true. Beſides, ſuch reception would not differ from Divine Faith, ſuch as is given to the moſt authentick Revelations: and ſo this opinion would be repugnant to it ſelf. For it ſuppoſeth Faith is not to be yielded to the Papal Decrees antecedently to the Churches reception; and yet requires the Church to receive them with a blind aſſent, that is, with Faith.

Theophilus Raynaudus uſeth a not unlike Argument in diſputing againſt this Anſwer of *Duval*, which is now before us.

*The definitions of the Pope, saith he *, in matters of Faith, are received by the People either as to be believed with Divine Faith, and so antecedently to the Reception of the Church; or not upon their own account, but for the sake of the Churches Reception. But this is very absurd; because it is not in the Power of the multitude of the faithful* to make that be of Faith by their Reception; which was not *really such before. For then many things would become of Faith, which are by no means such; as the Assumption of the B. Virgin, which no Christian doubts of, and yet none believe to be of Faith.* He might have added other Examples: which we shall produce hereafter.

* *At hoc per absurdum est, quia non est in potestate plebis fidelium facere, ut quod non est de fide sit revera tale.* Raynaud. διττὸς ἔφα, punct. 5.

It may be yet asked, Whether this Approbation of the Church required by *Duvall*, ought to be express, that is, whether the Pope's Decrees ought to be positively received by all, before they become Infallible: for if so, there are few or no Decrees, which have been thus received, certainly none, whose Reception of this kind is or can be manifestly known: or whether a negative Reception will suffice, and so those Decrees become certain, which are opposed by none. But neither can this be certainly known, until we be assured, that the Decree is taken notice of by all the faithful. Whereas how many Papal Decrees are there, which are unknown to the greatest part of Christendom? And no wonder: since St. *Augustine* himself was ignorant of that *Nicene* Canon, which forbad him to be associated in the Bishoprick to *Valerius* yet alive. But that which is chiefly to be herein regarded, is that the certainty of this sufficiency of the negative Reception of the Church can never be demonstrated, and without that we are still at a loss.

This consideration also is of no small moment: That if it be lawful to deny Credit and Obedience to the Popes Decrees, before it shall be known they have been received by the Universal Church: hereby a wide gate is opened to Schisms and Dissensions. For then every contentious or capricious person may contemn and hinder the Execution of the most just Decrees; and so put an end to the Authority of this so much boasted Monarchy. For suppose the Pope publisheth a

Decree

Decree. Some admit, others reject it. Hitherto according to *Duvall*, it is not of faith, because not yet received by the Universal Church. What shall be done in this case? Must a Council be called? That *Duvall* [s] himself acknowledgeth to be highly inconvenient, sometimes impossible, and for most part unsuccessful, That *if God had left only that remedy for daily emergent doubts, he would in a manner have obliged his Church to impossibilities: since the calling and meeting of a Council depends upon the pleasure of secular Princes: who for reasons of State may prevent it; although the Pope and with him all the Bishops in the World desire it.* But even if they meet, 'tis possible they may dissent in their Opinions. If you say that part must be adhered to which the Pope favours; I ask how it is to be adhered to; whether with Divine Faith? For of that only we now dispute. This *Duvall*, I suppose, will not affirm. For if the Infallibility of the Pope alone be not of Faith, part of a Council adhering to him will not make his yet uncertain Decrees to become of Faith; since according to *Duvall* nothing but the Reception of the Universal Church can do it; whereas in this case the Approbation even of the whole Representative Church is wanting.

[s] *Possimè Deus Ecclesiæ suæ consuluisset; si viam hanc, quæ raro feliciter desinit, tanquam expeditum malorum indies emergentium remedium reliquisset; quinimò Ecclesiam ad impossibile quodammodo obligâsset.* Duvall. de Pot. Pont. part. 4. quæst. 1.

CHAP. XI.

That neither can the Faith of Papists *rely on the Decrees of* Pope *and* Council *consenting together.*

First, *Because their Infallibility is not sufficiently certain.*

THUS have we dispatched the three first Foundations of a Papist's Faith. The fourth succeeds, *viz.* an Oecumenical Council; which may be considered two ways, either

as disjoyned from the Pope, and deſtitute of his conſent; or as confirmed by it. The *Sorboniſts* hold the Infallibility of it the firſt way conſidered, The Monarchical Divines only the ſecond. But that I need not diſpute ſeparately againſt the *Sorboniſts*, appears for two reaſons: Firſt, Becauſe their Opinion is eaſily confuted. For we need oppoſe to them no more than this, that the Infallibility of ſuch a Council is not certain, at leaſt it is not of Faith, as we before demonſtrated it ought to be. For the *Sorboniſts* can never prove this to be revealed by God. Scripture ſaith nothing at all of Councils, eſpecially Oecumenical. They flee indeed to Tradition. But they cannot produce any Teſtimonies of the Fathers, that ſay this is of Faith; not any evident Decrees of Councils; not the conſent of the Univerſal Church, for the greateſt part of the *Roman* Church thinks otherwiſe. Beſides, the Oppoſition it hath met with among many Divines of the Church undeniably proves it not to be of Faith. For if the diſſent of a few *Sorboniſts* can cauſe the Infallibility of the Pope not to be of Faith; certainly the oppoſition of a far greater number of Monarchical Divines will produce the ſame Effect, as to the Infallibility of a Council without the Pope. Secondly, Becauſe it may be confuted with the ſame Arguments, wherewith I ſhall prove that the definitions of Pope and Council conſenting together are no firm Foundation for our Faith. For if both together ſuffice not, a Council without the Pope will never be ſufficient: Since the conſent of the Pope may poſſibly add ſome firmneſs to the Decrees of a Council, but moſt certainly can take none from them.

To ſuperſede therefore any further Diſpute of that matter, let us enquire whether the Faith of our Adverſaries can rely on the Decrees of Pope and Council conſpiring together. This many of them imagine. *Bellarmin* [a] and *Duvall* [b], glory there is no doubt of it among them; that it is unanimouſly taught by their Divines, and therefore is of Faith. But I deny both. For although the Monarchical Divines are of this Opinion, yet the *Sorboniſts* diſſent: who maintain indeed the Infallibility of a General Council, whether agreeing or diſagreeing with the Pope; but allow not this Prerogative to every Council, but only to a Council truly Oecumenical, lawfully

[a] Bell. de concil. lib. 2. cap. 2.
[b] Duvall de Pot. Pont. part. 2. qu. 6.

fully conſtituted, Canonically proceeding, and wholly free. The Monarchical Divines acknowledge the neceſſity of thoſe Conditions, yet differ from the *Sorboniſts* two ſeveral wayes. Firſt, In that they interpret theſe Conditions differently; as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Secondly, In that whether theſe Conditions be preſent, they would have judged from the ſubſequent confirmation of the Pope: which the *Sorboniſts* will by no means allow, but require the knowledge of it to be had ſome other way. Hence many Councils which the Pope hath pronounced to be both lawful and Oecumenical, the *Sorboniſts* will not acknowledge either for lawful or Oecumenical; as that of *Lyons* under *Innocent* IV. that of *Florence*, and the *Lateran* under *Leo* X. others which the *Sorboniſts* admit, and the Monarchiſts reject, as thoſe of *Piſa*, *Conſtance* (at leaſt as to the firſt Seſſions) and *Baſil*. So *Bellarmin* rejecting ſome antient Councils, as thoſe of *Sirmium*, *Ariminum*, *Milan*, and the ſecond of *Epheſus*, on pretence that they were not approved by the Pope, is ſaid by *Richerius*[c] to trifle in aſſigning for the cauſe that which is not ſuch: Since, as he affirms, theſe Councils were not rejected, becauſe not approved by the Pope, but becauſe wanting the requiſite Liberty. Not to ſay, that the *Sorboniſts* reject ſome Councils, meerly becauſe the Pope was preſent, oppreſſing and over-awing their Liberty. It is manifeſt therefore that the conſent of our Adverſaries about the Infallibility of Councils confirmed by the Pope, conſiſts only in words, and is not real; and that by a General Council the *Sorboniſts* underſtand one thing, the *Monarchiſts* another. The thing it ſelf therefore cannot be of Faith; ſince by the received Doctrine of that Church nothing can be ſo, but what is unanimouſly acknowledged and taught by Catholick Divines.

[c] Richer. apol. pro Gerſ. axiom. 22.

But to make the whole matter more evident, I will demonſtrate two things. Firſt, That this appears not to be of Faith from other Arguments beſide the diſſent of the *Sorboniſts* and *Monarchiſts*. Secondly, That although it were certain in general, there are ſome infallible Councils, yet it can never be known that any particular Council is ſo. This was demonſtrated above, although under other terms, when we proved that the active Infallibility of the Church is not of Faith:

Faith: and what I just now produced, confirms it not a little. To which may be added, That the Infallibility of Pope and Council together cannot be of Faith, because the Infallibility of neither separately is so. For I would ask, why that alone should be of Faith: whether because that only is true, or that alone revealed, or that only known to be revealed. Not the first: for then the whole *Latin* Church would have erred. For there is not, at least, not known to be, any, who do not attribute Infallibility either to the Pope alone, or a Council alone. Not the second: For then the same inconvenience would follow, since there are none but what hold the Infallibility of one of the two to have been revealed. Not the third; For who can ever imagine, that God would give Infallibility to Pope or Council, and yet not reveal it so clearly, as that it might be believed with Divine Faith. For he can have given it for no other end, than that it might be to Christians the Rule of Believing, which it cannot be, as we before proved, unless it be it self of Faith.

To this may perhaps be opposed, that the Infallibility of Pope or Council separately wants not Divine Revelation, but only the Definition of the Church proposing it. But if so, then the so much boasted of Wisdom and Assistance of the Holy Ghost must be wanting in the Church, which would not make this Revelation by her Definition to be of Faith, and thereby have left to the faithful no other living Rule of Faith than the Pope and Counsel consenting together, which for the known difficulties of calling General Councils cannot be perhaps had and applied once in an Age; whereas the Infallibility of the Pope, if defined to be of Faith, would be an apt and easie Rule, ready to be consulted upon all occasions. But in truth this Infallibility of Pope and Council united is no where expresly revealed by God, or openly defined by the Church. For many places of Scripture, and Decrees of Councils are indeed alledged for the Infallibility of each separately, but not one for that of both conjunctly. None certainly will deny this; if the Opinion of *Albertus Pighius*, and *Fr. à Victoria* be true: Of whom the first by the confession of *Bellarmin* [d] thought the institution of Councils plainly human, and found out by Natural

[d] Bell. de concil. lib. 1. cap. 3.

Natural reaſon: the ſecond [a] hath theſe words; *A whole Councel can do nothing, which each Biſhop might not by his own power do of himſelf: whence this power is not in the Council immediately by Divine Right, but by the will of the Biſhops.* That this opinion is at leaſt probable, muſt be confeſſed. For no mention of General Councils is to be found in Scripture, none in the Eccleſiaſtical Writers of the three firſt Ages, to whom they were wholly unknown. If this opinion ſhould be true, that ſo much Infallibility would vaniſh into ſmoak. For who could aſſure us, that God had annexed ſo great a priviledge to an humane Inſtitution? at leaſt it could never be of Faith, becauſe wanting Divine revelation. I know this opinion is rejected by *Bellarmine*, but ſo ſoftly, that he doth not explode it as abſurd and intolerable; nor ſay the contrary is of Faith, but only more probable. From whence I argue, That if the Divine inſtitution of Councils be only more probable, then their humane inſtitution is probable: at leaſt neither opinion exceedeth probability, and ſo neither can be of Faith.

[a] *Nihil aliud poſſet totum Concilium, quod non poſſent Patres per ſe ſinguli ſecundùm ſuam poteſtatem: unde hæc poteſtas non eſt in Concilio immediatè jure divino, ſed ex voluntate Prælatorum.* Vaſ. Reſolt. 2. de poteſt. Eccl. Sect. 1.

CHAP. XII.

That there was never any Councils Oecumenical.

THus have we proved the exiſtence of infallible Councils to be uncertain. But grant it certain and undoubted. This will be yet to be inquired, what thoſe Councils are; without the knowledge of which the certainty of the former will be wholly vain. Yet is this thing impoſſible to be known. For let us ſurvey the conditions which our Adverſaries require. The firſt is, that the Council be truly Oecumenical. This indeed is not much inſiſted upon by the Monarchiſts; who maintain any Council great or ſmall, confirmed by the Pope to be infallible: and ſo make no difference between particular and general

general Councils. For according to their opinion, without the approbation of the Pope both are alike fallible; with it, both alike infallible. Whence *Gr. à Valentia*[a] propoſeth his judgment in theſe two aſſertions. I. *No Council hath of it ſelf infallible authority of defining, laying aſide the Authority of the Pope.* II. *The confirmation of the Pope being added, any Council is infallible:* not ſo the Sorboniſts, they require the Council be truly Oecumenical. *The Sorbon*, ſaith *Richerius*[b], *aſcribes infallible authority of defining only to the Church, and a general, not particular, Council.* So *Holden*[c]: *Such a Council ought in the firſt place to be truly General.* This therefore is firſt to be inquired, whether any Council obtruded on us for a Rule of Faith, be General. Now I aſſert two things: I. That there were never yet any ſuch. II. That even if there had been, it would be yet uncertain, which were ſuch. The firſt I will prove in this, the ſecond in the following Chapter.

[a] *Nullum Concilium infallibilem authoritatem definiendi per ſe habet, ſeclusa Romani Pontificis authoritate. II. Accedente Rom. Pont. confirmatione Concilium quodvis eſt infallibile.* Val. tom. 3. diſp. 1. quæſt. 1. punct. 7. §. 45.

[b] *Schola Pariſienſis ſoli Eccleſiæ, & generali, non particulari, Concilio authoritatem infallibilem decernendi aſcribit.* Rich. Apol. pro Gerſ. ax. 22.

[c] *Primò, debet Concilium hujuſmodi eſſe verè generale.* Hold. Annal. fid. lib. 2. cap. 3.

That a Council be truly Oecumenical, one of theſe things may be thought neceſſary: either that all the Biſhops of the World be preſent, or at leaſt thoſe who may ſufficiently repreſent the abſent. For who can otherwiſe imagine, that a few Biſhops ſhould authoritatively impoſe Laws upon the greater number not inferiour in Piety and Learning, at leaſt not neceſſarily inferiour. Certainly by the conſent of all, one equal hath no authority over another: and a few meeting together, do not by their conjunction obtain a right to preſcribe Laws to the greater number, although disjoyned in place, as a Learned man[d] hath well obſerved. We muſt therefore neceſſarily recur to one of theſe conditions. Yet although even the firſt ſhould happen, which cannot be without infinite difficulty, I am not obliged to grant the whole Church to be repreſented in that Aſſembly. For not to ſay, that would ſuppoſe that blind obedience which is forbidden by the Scripture; it may happen that in a Dioceſs the Biſhop be Heretical, and the inferiour Clergy Orthodox. In which caſe the Biſhop cannot repreſent the belief of his Church neither *de facto* nor *de jure*, unleſs we will ſay his Church was bound

[d] Thornd. Orig. Eccleſ. cap. 22.

bound to follow him in his Hereſie. But I will not inſiſt on this. Suppoſe ſuch an Aſſembly to repreſent the whole Church. Yet this cannot be denied, that ſuch an Aſſembly never was, nor any Council in which ſo much as the twentieth part of the Epiſcopal Colledge were preſent. And if ſuch a Council were never held formerly, when the whole Chriſtian World was ſubject to one Emperour: it cannot be hoped for in this preſent ſtate of Chriſtendom divided into ſo many Kingdoms and Commonwealths.

Laying aſide therefore this, let us conſider the ſecond way of holding a General Council. Thoſe who are preſent in a Council can no otherwiſe repreſent abſent perſons, than if they come in their name, and by their command, which may be two ways. Firſt, if they be expreſly and by name delegated; as if Provincial Synods ſhould be held every where before the General, and Delegates there choſen for the whole Province. Or ſecondly, if omitting all this, every Biſhop abſenting himſelf, ſhould for that very reaſon be thought tacitly and interpretatively to transfer his Vote and Authority on thoſe which go to the Council, *Richerius* and *Holden* ſeem to favour the firſt way, *Salmeron* the latter. For *Richerius* [e] having defined a General Council to be an Aſſembly of the whole Clergy collected out of all the particular Provinces, tells us this is not to be underſtood of every ſingle Eccleſiaſtick, but that *the readieſt way is to chuſe ſome out of every Order and kind of Eccleſiaſticks in every Province and Chriſtian Nation.* *Holden* [f] requireth that *ſome part or number of Biſhops may be deputed out of divers Kingdoms and Provinces; and be preſent in the Council.* On the contrary *Salmeron* [g] ſaith, *Thoſe who by a lawful hinderance or the permiſſion of the Apoſtolick See come not* (to the Council) *are ſuppoſed to have transferred their right upon thoſe which meet.* *Occam* and *John Brevicoxa* Biſhop of *Paris* ſeem to have conjoyned both ways: whereof the firſt [h] requires in a General Council *divers perſons bearing the authority and places of all the parts of Chriſtendom, unleſs ſome would*

[e] *Promptum & expeditum eſt ex ſingulis ordinibus aut generibus Eccleſiaſticorum aliquos ex ſingulis provinciis & nationibus Chriſtianis deligere.* Rich. Apol. axiom. 21.

[f] *Ut tot variarum Eccleſiarum in diverſis regnis & provinciis ſitarum pars aliqua ſeu numerus Epiſcoporum deputetur & interſit.* Hold. Anal. fid. lib. 1. cap. 9.

[g] *Qui legitimè impediti, vel ex permiſſu ſedis Apoſtolicæ non veniunt, jus ſuum totum in eos qui convenerunt conſentur tranſtuliſſe.* Salm. Tom. 12. Tract. 77.

[h] *Diverſa perſona gerentes authoritatem & vicem univerſarum partium totius Chriſtianitatis, niſi aliqui noluerint vel non potuerint convenire. Unde ſi aliqua provincia nollent vel non poſſent, &c.* Occam Dial. l. 5. c. 2.

would not or could not come. Whence if some Provinces would not or could not delegate persons having their Authority and Votes, the Council would be no less General. The latter[1] defineth a General Council to be *a Congregation, wherein divers persons bearing the Proxies of the divers Provinces of Christendom, meet Canonically to consult of the common good.* To which he subjoyns *Ockam*'s Proviso concerning the absence of the Delegates of some Provinces.

[1] *Congregationem, in quâ diversæ personæ gerentes vicem diversarum partium & provinciarum totius Christianitatis ad tractandum de bono communi ritè convenient.* Brev. apud Laun. epist. part. 8. ad Amel.

However it be, the first way of holding General Councils is not observed by our Adversaries. For immediately upon the Summons every Bishop, who intends to be present, sets forward without expecting the Delegation of their Comprovincial Bishops. Nay rather both the Historians of the Council of *Trent*, Father *Paul*, and Cardinal *Palavicini*, relate that when the Viceroy of *Naples* would have had four Bishops of that Kingdom chosen and sent to the Council in the name of all the rest; the Pope took it very ill, and most severely forbid it to be done. Which I question not to be the reason, why *Canus* and *Bellarmine* in assigning the conditions of a General Council, never mention this. This express and formal Delegation therefore is not necessary to constitute a General Council; unless they deny the *Tridentine* and other Councils, in which it was not used, to be General. But neither is it valid, if it were used. For Bishops may be delegated either with an absolute and unlimited Power of giving their Suffrages as they please; or restrained to certain Rules of Voting on this or that side. The first way, though tolerable in temporal affairs, the success of which is of no great moment, yet is not to be endured in matters of Faith and eternal Salvation. For suppose the Delegates vote Heresie; shall the Delegators be bound to confirm their Suffrages? The second way of delegating destroys the liberty of the Council. For the present Bishops would by this means be no Judges of the Controversies proposed; and all disputation or examination of the Question in hand would be wholly vain.

The first way therefore of Representation is useless. Let us now consider the second. I affirm that the absent Bishops cannot be said to have committed their suffrages to the present.

For

For first, Although this may with some colour be said of those which have been lawfully and sufficiently summoned; yet it cannot be applied to them, who either are not summoned at all, or not by him who hath the lawful Authority to do it. Who this is, is yet undetermined. Besides, what if the absent Bishops shall openly protest they will not be obliged by what the others shall decree, as the *French* did at *Trent*; Shall they be also supposed to have tacitely assented? But to shew the vanity of this pretence more clearly, I will prove that tacit delegation, which in other cases may be allowed, to have here no place. First, it doth not appear what is the peculiar Office to be performed by the Bishops in a Council. *Holden* makes them only Witnesses of revealed Truths: Others rather think them to be Judges. But Judges they cannot be unless also Witnesses. For how shall they define an Opinion to have been revealed or not; unless they know it to be so, and be Witnesses of the Revelation, or at least Tradition. Yet 'tis certain that Proxies in witnessing are not wont to be allowed; or if they be, that a tacit delegation will not suffice. I add, if it were a matter of more external Discipline, or what concerns only the Bishops themselves; those who absent themselves might perhaps be supposed to quit their right, and submit themselves to the judgment of the rest which meet in the Council. But to imagine such a thing in a matter of Faith and Truth is most absurd. Shall those Bishops, who might have born Witness to the Truth, be thought to have forfeited or deserted their right; only because either voluntarily or by force they were absent from the Council? If this were admitted; errour would soon triumph over Truth, and Faith over Heresie. For our Adversaries confess, and Experience hath often proved, That the major part of Bishops in a Council may favour Heresie. For suppose the heretical Bishops nearer to the place of the Council, or supported by the favour of the secular Prince, or mightily zealous in the propagation of their Errour, all which advantages *Arianism* formerly enjoyed in the East. If to these be added the right of representing absent Bishops, they may establish Heresie in the Church for ever, and oblige the absent Bishops for a punishment of their negligence to subscribe to erroneous Definitions of Faith. Lastly, If the

abſent Biſhops tacitely delegate their ſuffrages to the preſent; there is no number of Biſhops ſo ſmall, which may not conſtitute a General Council, nay, although they be all of one Province; (provided the Summons were directed to all the Provinces) as being interpretatively inveſted with the Authority of all the abſent Biſhops. Which yet is not allowed by our Adverſaries: and *Bellarmine* [k] himſelf requires as the fourth condition of a General Council, *that ſome Biſhops come from at leaſt the greateſt part of the Provinces of Chriſtendom.* Let the Reader now judge, how that can ſtand, which *Richerius* [l] ſo poſitively affirms, That an Oecumenical Council repreſents the whole Church *moſt properly and perfectly.* On the contrary, what I have already offered, proves that the Church is not at all, much leſs moſt perfectly repreſented thereby.

[k] *Ut ſaltem ex majori parte Chriſtianarum Provinciarum aliqui adveniant.* Bell. de Concil. lib. 1. cap. 17.

[l] *Maximè propriè & perfectiſſimè.* Rich. Apol. axiom. 21.

CHAP. XIII.

That although there were Oecumenical Councils, *it would be always uncertain which they were.*

THAT there is no truly Oecumenical Councils, I have proved in the precedent Chapter! But grant there is, We ſhall gain but little, unleſs we undoubtedly know, which they are, that deſerve that Name. For the Papiſts will not have their Faith rely upon a Council indefinitely, but upon ſuch or ſuch a Council, as for Example upon that of *Conſtance* or *Trent*. But their Faith cannot rely on theſe, unleſs they were certain they were Oecumenical: which that they can never be, I ſhall prove in this Chapter. I might perhaps ſuperſede this labour, as being already performed by Learned Men even of the Church of *Rome*, *Launoy* [a], and the Author [b] of the Treatiſe *of the Liberties of the Gallican Church*, although with a different intention. For the firſt ſeems to have undertaken it only for the love of Truth, the ſecond that he might ſhew the neceſſity of depending wholly and abſolutely upon the Pope. But becauſe both of them have omitted many things; it will not

[a] Laun. Epiſt. part. 8. ad Ameſ.

[b] Ide lib. &c. lib. 5. cap. 2.

not be perhaps unuſeful to add mine to their Obſervations.

Firſt therefore, The difficulty of knowing Oecumenical Councils appears from the diſcord of Authors in numbring them. *Bellarmine* reckons 32 which diſtributing into 4 Claſſes, he makes 18 of them to have been approved, 7 condemned, 6 partly approved and partly condemned, and 1 (the *Piſan*) neither manifeſtly approved, nor manifeſtly condemned. *Boſius* [c] numbers 18, expreſly denying the reſt to have been General. *Bannes* [d] 15, or at moſt 17. But all omit that of *Siena*, although acknowledged to have been General by the Council of *Baſil* [e]. Again of thoſe numbred by *Bellarmin*, ſome are by other Writers expunged out of the Liſt. Let us view them in order. After the 1. *Nicene Council*, of whoſe Univerſality none doubts, comes that of *Sardica*, which is thought to be General by *Bellarmin*, *Baronius*, *Perron*, *Lupus*, *Natalis Alex. Maimbourg:* denied by the *Africans*, *Photius*, and *Auxilius* [f] among the Ancients, by *Richerius* [g] and *Peter de Marca* [h] among the Moderns. The firſt *Conſtantinopolitan* Council *Natalis* [i] affirms to have been *only a Synod of the Eaſtern Church, and Oecumenical only* ex poſt facto, *inaſmuch as the* Weſtern *Church in the* Roman *Synod under Pope* Damaſus *approved it.* Yet in the year after the Council the *Eaſtern* Biſhops meeting at *Conſtantinople*, and writing to the *Roman* Synod, call their former Council Oecumenical: which *Valeſius* [k] doth not without cauſe wonder at, and obſerves the *Weſtern* Church did not of a long while after eſteem it Oecumenical.

[c] Boſ. de ſignis Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 8.

[d] Ban. Catal. Concil. præmiſſo Tom. 3. in Thom.

[e] Concil. Baſil. in quâdam reſp. datâ 3. Id. Maii, 1436.

[f] Apud Lupum Diſſ. de Concil. Sardic.

[g] Rich. de Concil. lib. 1. cap. 3.

[h] Marca de Concord. lib. 7. cap. 3.

[i] *Orientalis duntaxat Eccleſiæ Concilium iſtud fuit, nec Oecumenicum niſi ex poſt facto, quatenus, &c.* Nat. §. 4. par. 1. p. 236.

[k] Val. Not. ad Theod. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 3.

I find none which deny the 1. *Epheſine* Council to have been General. Yet if any one ſhould do it, he would not want ſome foundation. For in the firſt Seſſion, wherein *Neſtorius* was condemned, not only the whole Oriental Dioceſs, ſubject to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, was abſent, but alſo the Legates of the *Weſtern* Biſhops were not yet come. *Cyrill* indeed ſupplyed the room of Pope *Cæleſtin*: but *Arcadius* and *Projectus* were ſent in the name of the other *Weſtern* Biſhops, as *Lupus* [l] obſerveth. In the following Seſſions the *Oriental* Biſhops would not be preſent; but making a ſeparate Synod in the ſame City, anathematized the other; which prevailed

[l] Lup. diſſ. de Concil. Epheſ. cap. 6.

prevailed indeed in number and reaſon, and ſo may be called lawful, but cannot be Oecumenical. The Council of *Chalcedon* is acknowledged by all, yet as to the 19th Seſſion (in which notwithſtanding all the Canons of the Synod were made) it is rejected by *Baronius*, *Lupus*, and many others; becauſe the Legates of *Rome*, and the Biſhops of *Ægypt* were then abſent; whereas the *Greeks* and others contend it was wholly Oecumenical. The V. Council under *Juſtinian*, which was the II. *Conſtantinopolitan*, is admitted for Oecumenical by all the preſent *Greeks* and *Latines*. Not ſo formerly; when the *Africans*, *Italians*, *Spaniards*, and *Gauls* rejected it. And certainly it was not Oecumenical. For *Vigilius* and the *Weſtern* Biſhops, although then at *Conſtantinople*, would not be preſent in it. The Council in *Trullo* is accounted General by ſome *Greeks* and *Latines*, as *Innocent* III. *Gratian*, *Bellarmine*, *Barnes*, and others; denied by *Baronius* [m], *Leo Allatius* [n], and *Bellarmin* [o] himſelf in another place. The II. *Nicene* is eſteemed Oecumenical both by *Greeks* and *Latines*. Yet formerly *Hincmar* and even *Theodorus Studita*, that great Patron of Image-Worſhip, maintained it was only local; as *Lupus* [p] confeſſeth. Certainly it was denied to be Oecumenical by the antient *French*, *Germans*, and *Engliſh*, and by the Synod of *Francford*, who denied it could be called Oecumenical, when it was propoſed to them, as *Peter de Marca* [q] acknowledgeth. Yea, and in the *Caroline* Capitular, they call it an Heretical, Schiſmatical, Erroneous, and Preſumptuous Synod, wondering at the impudence and vanity of its Biſhops in ranking themſelves with the ſix former General Councils. And juſtly might they wonder at it. For although the Roman Legates were preſent: Yet the Weſtern were not either by themſelves or by their Delegates. Not to ſay that the pretended Legatas of the three *Oriental Patriarchs* were ſuborned by the Council, and had no Commiſſion from thoſe *Patriarchs*. That the Council of *Francford* was called General, *Baronius* [r] obſerves; Certainly *Hincmar* gave it that name. Nor doth *Bellarmine* oppoſe, although in another place [s] he calls the II *Nicene* Synod more Univerſal. However it could not be General; ſince all the *Greeks* (who were not yet divided from the *Weſtern* Church by Schiſm) were abſent. The VIII. Synod the *Latins*

[m] Bar. ad an. 692.
[n] Leo All. de perp. conſenſu.
[o] Bell. de Pont. lib. 2. cap. 18.
[p] Lup. diſſ. de Concil. Nicen. II. cap. 15.
[q] *Propoſita eſt ſacro conventui Synodus Nicæa habita, quam illi Oecumenicam dici poſſe negârunt.* Marc. de Concord. lib. 7. cap. 17.
[r] Bar. ad ann. 794.
[s] Bell. de Concil. lib. 2. cap. 8.

Latins call Oecumenical; the *Greeks* deny it, as the *English*, *French* and *Germans* did also formerly. The *Greeks* on the contrary reckon for the eighth General Council the Synod under *Photius*, which is rejected by the *Latins*.

After these *Bellarmine* reckons eight other Councils elder than that of *Constance*, *viz.* four of *Lateran*, two of *Lyons*, and those of *Vien* and *Pisa*. But the Council of *Constance* [t] admits only one of *Lateran*, one of *Lyons*, and that of *Vien*: rejecting the other five. *Clement* VII. rejects yet more. For in his Bull of Priviledge for the Edition of the *Florentine* Synod, he calls it the eighth General Council; whereby he proscribes all these eight, the Council of *Constance* it self, and the *Constantinopolitan* under *Ignatius*, which commonly bears the Title of the Eighth: of these eight, that of *Lyons* under *Innocent* IV. was one; wherein *Frederick* the Emperour was deposed. This *Bellarmine*, *Onuphrius*, and the Assertors of the Pope's deposing Power contend to have been General. *Launoy* and *Widdrington* deny it. Nor is this a late Controversie. This very thing was disputed in the Synod it self between the Pope and *Thaddeus* the Emperour's Orator, who appealing to a future General Council, was rejected by the Pope upon pretext that the present Synod was Oecumenical. *The Council of* Constance *is from the beginning to the end accounted General by the French*; as the Cardinal of *Lorrain* [u] expressly affirms, and the whole Clergy of *France* lately confirmed with a solemn Decree. The Monarchists deny it to have been General in the first Sessions; because of the three Obediences but one was present. So *Cajetan*, *Canus*, *Bellarmine*, *Duval*, and innumerable others. *Bossius* [x] and F. *Cotton* go farther; of whom the first reckons it not at all among the Oecumenical Councils, the second by the testimony of *Richerius* [y], wiped it out of the List of them. That the Council of *Basil* was always held Oecumenical by the *French*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* witnesseth. The same was the opinion of *Eugenius* IV. *Bellarmine*, *Carranza*, *Labbé*, and others. *Duval* [z] vehemently opposeth it, and stifly contends it was never General. *The Council of* Florence *was never by the French esteemed either lawful or General*, saith the same Cardinal [a]. On the contrary,

[t] *In formulâ pro dei Pontifici eligendo præscriptâ.*

Vid. Labbeanam Concil. editionem.

[u] *Apud Gallos Constantiense Concilium in partibus suis omnibus ut generale habetur.* Comm. ad Briton. Senat.

[x] *Bos. de dignit Eccl.* lib. 5. cap. 8.

[y] *Rich. Hist. Concil.* lib. 2. cap. 3.

[z] *Duvall. de potest. Pont. in antelogu.*

[a] *Conc. Florentinum perinde ac nec legitimum nec generale repudiatur.* loc. cit.

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the *Italians* and *Spaniards* extol it to the Skies. The Council of *Lateran* under *Leo* X. *Fabulottus*, *Bellarmine*, and many more, contend to have been Oecumenical. Yet *Bellarmine* confeſſeth that ſome doubt of it; and *Duval* [b], That *others affirm it not to have been truly and properly General, foraſmuch as there were ſcarce an hundred Biſhops preſent in it* [c]. And himſelf a little after leaveth it uncertain, becauſe of the paucity of Biſhops: which reaſon might alſo exclude many Seſſions of the Council of *Trent*.

[b] *Quidam aiunt non fuiſſe verè & propriè generale, cùm ei vix C. Epiſcopi interfuerint.* Duvall. de poteſt. Pont. part. 4. qu. 7.

Thus therefore it manifeſtly appears, That there are many Councils, whoſe univerſality was and is ſtill diſputed of; the *Latins* agreeing neither with the *Greeks*, nor among themſelves. And if ſo: what certainty can be founded upon their Decrees, to which the very firſt conditions of an infallible Council is wanting? To this may be oppoſed, there are ſome Councils, which none deny to have been Oecumenical; as the I. *Nicene*, that of *Chalcedon* in the firſt Seſſions, the VI. and the *Tridentine*. I own the conſent of our Adverſaries herein; and omitting many things, which might be replied, I will chiefly inſiſt upon this, That this conſent of our Adverſaries is vain and deſtitute of all foundation, and would preſently vaniſh, if they adhered to their own Hypotheſes. For thoſe conditions, which they require to make a Council Oecumenical, are not to be found in all theſe Councils; and beſides, are ſuch as create new ſcruples and perplexities.

[c] *Ut tot variarum Eccleſiarum in diverſis regnis ſitarum, pars aliqua ſeu numerus Epiſcoporum deputetur ac interſit; qui conventum communem ad eum univerſitatis gradum convenientem aſſurgere faciat, ut improbarum conjurationum, &c. abſit omnis ſuſpicio, &c.* Hold. Anal. fid. lib. 1. cap. 9.

Firſt therefore, *Holden* [c] teacheth, that to conſtitute a General Council, it is neceſſary *ſome Biſhops out of ſo many divers Churches ſituate in diſtant Chriſtian Kingdoms and Provinces, be deputed and be preſent, as may make the common Aſſembly ariſe to that degree of Univerſality, as may exclude all ſuſpicion of fraudulent Conſpiracies and Factions; ſo that no prudent or honeſt man may doubt it to be Oecumenical.* Many things may be here obſerved; as firſt, how many Biſhops ſoever be preſent, we can never be ſure there is no Faction or Conſpiracy in the Council, how well diſpoſed, or from how different ſoever places they come. What hinders but they may be corrupted at the place of Council? The Councils of *Milan*, *Ariminum*, and *Epheſus*

Epheſus are eminent Examples of this; yea, and the Council of *Trent* it ſelf: wherein F. *Paul* [d] relates, that the *Spaniſh* Biſhops complained there were preſent more than forty Biſhops obnoxious to and Stipendiaries of the Court of *Rome*; whereof ſome received thirty, others ſixty Crowns a month. Again, that when it was reported at *Rome*, that the *French* Biſhops were on their way to the Council, *Pius* IV. in a great fright called together the Biſhops waiting then at *Rome*, told them how neceſſary their preſence was at the Council, and perſwading ſome with promiſes, others with gifts, haſtily packed them away to *Trent*. The fear of this made the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* to decree, That the Votes ſhould be taken not ſingly, but according to the ſeveral Nations; *It being not reaſonable*, ſaith *Richerius* [e], *that in things pertaining to Faith and Diſcipline, the* Italian *Nation alone ſhould aſſume and arrogate to themſelves more than any other Chriſtian Nations.*

[d] Hiſt. Conc. Trid. lib. 6.

[e] *Nihil cauſæ eſt, cur in rebus ad fidem aut diſciplinam Eccleſ. ſpectantibus una & ſola natio Italica ſibi plus aſſumat & arroget, quàm aliæ nationes Chriſtianæ.* Rich. Apol. ax. 8.

The number of Biſhops therefore affords no certain remedy againſt Factions. But ſuppoſe it doth: Is nothing elſe required to conſtitute a General Council but freedom from Factions? Then many National and Provincial Synods will become Oecumenical. Certainly Factions may be wanting in particular Councils, if many Biſhops be preſent; and perhaps Oecumenical liberty, if but a few. If that liberty contributed any thing, it would be only to enable the Biſhops to proceed Canonically if they would. But that is not the thing we now diſpute of. For particular Councils have been often ſeen to proceed very well, and Oecumenical very ill.

Secondly, *Holden* neither doth nor can define how many Biſhops (or out of how many Provinces) muſt neceſſarily be preſent; but leaves the matter to common prudence; the judgments of which are infinitely various and uncertain, whence no certainty in this particular, upon which all the reſt depend, can be had thence: eſpecially if we conſider that the Biſhops preſent in Councils are ſometimes more, ſometimes fewer. So the Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* III. is ſaid to have had above a thouſand Prelates, that of *Chalce-*

don six hundred; the I *Constantinopolitan* one hundred and fifty; the V. *Lateran* one hundred; that of *Trent* in the first Sessions much fewer. So that Prudence can fix no certain rule here, and if she be satisfied when a great Number is present; she cannot but hesitate, when but a few.

Holden's Rule therefore is of no use to the knowledge of Oecumenical Councils. *Lupus* [f] comes somewhat nearer the truth; who requireth the presence of the Pope, all the Orthodox Patriarchs, Primates, Metropolitans, and Bishops, if not corporally, at least by delegation, or express consent, whether previous or subsequent. The same faith *Bosius* [g]. But neither are they in the right, For if this were true; all Councils whose Decrees are received by the whole Church, would be Oecumenical, and so the Councils of *Ancyra*, *Neocaesarea*, *Laodicea*, *Gangra*, &c. (whose Canons were received both by the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, and confirmed by divers Popes and General Councils) would become Oecumenical. *This Explication*, saith the Author [h] of the Treatise *of the Liberties of the* Gallican *Church*, *confounds the idea of a General Council*; *and by resolving the whole Authority of it into the subsequent acceptation of the Universal Church*, *raiseth National*, *Provincial*, *and even Diocesan Synods into the same rank with it.* This also would follow, That Councils, how frequent and numerous soever, could not be Oecumenical, till they were received by the Universal Church, and so those Councils would have lyed, which without expecting this subsequent Reception, intitled themselves Oecumenical; as almost all did, although many of them not received of a long while after, as the V. VII. VIII. of which before. Nay *Lupus* observeth the Canons of the first Council of *Constantinople* were not received before *Innocent* III. For more than 800 years therefore according to *Lupus*, that Council must have been Particular; nay both General and Particular. For the Creed of it was admitted by both Churches, the Canons only by the *Greeks*.

But laying aside these, Let us come to *Bellarmin*, who hath used more accuracy herein. He lays down four conditions of a General Council. First, [i], *That the Summons be General*,

[f] *Dico adesse oportere sedem Apostolicam, omnes Ecclesiæ Orthodoxos Patriarchas, &c.* Lup. Dissert. de Concil. CP. I. p. 306.

[g] Bos. de signis Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 8.

[h] *Hæc explicatio Concilii ideam confundit. Hic enim ipsâ ratione non solum, &c.* lib. 5. cap. 2.

[i] *Prima est, ut evocatio sit generalis, ita ut intersciat omnibus majoribus Christianis provinciis.* Bell. de Concil. lib. 1. c. 17.

and

and notified to all the greater Provinces of Christendom: For that this was alwayes observed, and for default of it the Council of Constantinople *against Images was declared void by the* VII. *Synod.* But how shall we be assured, that this condition was not wanting to any one Council either Antient or Modern, or that certain Intelligence was received in every Province of the indiction of it? Secondly, [k] *That no Bishop be excluded, whencesoever he come, provided he be known to be so, and be not excommunicated.* That this again was alwaies observed we cannot be assured. For not only those are to be esteemed excluded who are openly rejected; but those also, who privily by Threats, Promises, or any other way are forced to depart: as *Paulus Vergerius*, Bishop of *Justinople*, by publick Writing complained he was from the Council of *Trent*. The third [l] condition is, *That all the Patriarchs be present either by themselves or by their Legates.* But to this *Bellarmin* adds, That *it is not very necessary; because the Council of* Ephesus *without the Patriarch of* Antioch *condemned* Nestorius, *and the Synod of* Chalcedon *concluded almost all things without him of* Alexandria. And at this time, saith he [m], *These Patriarchs are not necessary, because Heretical, or at least Schismatical.* But it doth not follow, That because one Patriarch may be absent, therefore the rest ought not to be present. Besides *Bellarmin* herein contradicts himself. For he demonstrateth the necessity of the presence of the Patriarchs by this Argument among others, because the II. *Nicene* Council proves that the Council of *Constantinople* against Images was not Oecumenical from the absence of the Patriarchs. If this Argument hold, the presence at least of some Patriarchs will be necessary. And whereas he denies the presence of the Patriarchs to be now necessary, because Heretical or Schismatical, this again creates new perplexities. For they deny themselves to be so, and 'tis at least very uncertain whether they are so: So that this thing must be first searched out and determined, before a firm assent can be given to the Decrees of a Council wanting their presence. See new Difficulties, new Labyrinths. Lastly, With *Canus*, *Duvall*, and others, he requires, That if not all Bishops be present in the Council, as they cannot all be; at least some out of all the greater Provinces meet there. If so, then must be

[k] *Ut ex Episcopis nullus excludatur undecunq; veniat, modo constet eum esse Episcopum & non excommunicatum.* Id. ibid.

[l] *Ut adsint omnes Patriarchæ vel per se vel per legatos.* Id. ibid.

[m] *Non sunt necessarii, quia hæretici, vel certè schismatici.* Id. ibid.

wiped out of the Catalogue of General Councils the II. and V. in which no *Western*, some of *Lateran*, and those of *Vien*, *Constance* and *Trent*, in which no *Eastern* Bishops were present. *Duvall* [n] opposeth this reason to the Council of *Basil*; which may with equal reason be returned upon all the rest. Beside, when neither *Bellarmine* nor any other dare determine how many Bishops out of each Province must necessarily be present, or how many Provinces may safely be wanting in the Council; the whole matter cannot but remain uncertain. That also deserves to be observed which *Bellarmine* admonisheth, That it was always thought sufficient, that when a General Council is held in the East, a few, suppose one or two Western Bishops be present; or as few Eastern Bishops in a Council held in the West: as he proveth by divers Examples. But if two or three Bishops can sufficiently represent one entire part of the Universal Church; why may not as many more represent the other part? Which being admitted, a Meeting of four or five Bishops will constitute a General Council, which to me seems very absurd and ridiculous.

[n] Duvall. anteloq. ad lib. de potest. Pont.

Hence it appears therefore, that our Adversaries can produce nothing satisfactory in this matter: which will be yet more manifest; if to what we have observed already be added, that they talk much concerning it, but prove nothing. Whereas they should not tell us, what they thought requisite or sufficient to constitute a General Council, but also demonstrate it so to be, and that so clearly, that no doubt might remain. Otherwise we shall be ever uncertain, which are to be called Oecumenical Councils, and which not. Yet nothing of this is produced by them: themselves rather differ about the conditions; and what one thinks sufficient or necessary, another rejects as insufficient or unuseful. So *Bellarmine* thinks it sufficient that many be present in the Council, and none excluded. *Lupus* denies this to suffice, unless the absent Bishops, either before or after the Council, shall assent. *Bellarmine* holds this assent unnecessary. For speaking of the *Lateran* Council under *Leo* X. he hath these words: [o] *But whereas it was not received, at least by all, it matters little. For the*

[o] *Quod autem non fuerit receptum, saltem ab omnibus, parum refert. Nam decreta Conciliorum non indigent approbatione populi, cum ab eo non accipiant authoritatem.* Bell. de Concil. lib. 2. cap. 17.

the Decrees of a Council need not the approbation of the people, ſince they receive not their authority from them. *Fabulottus* [p] and the Author [q] of the Treatiſe *of the Liberties of the* Gallican *Church*, maintain and at large prove the ſame things. Thus all things are uncertain among them, and hang upon a thread. *Martinonus* was not ignorant of this: who to proceed more warily, flieth to the Pope and Council it ſelf; and maketh them, eſpecially the Pope, the only Judges of theſe preliminary Queſtions. *To him*, ſaith he [r], *it belongs to declare whether the Aſſembly be ſufficiently general, and whether thoſe which are preſent, ſufficiently repreſent all the reſt.* But neither doth this ſuffice. For as to a Council, ſince only a General can infallibly pronounce in matters of Faith, and the Univerſality of the Council pertains to Faith, before we can acquieſce in the determination of the Council concerning its own Univerſality, we muſt know whether it be general. Otherwiſe we cannot be aſſured, that it did not err in that very determination. Beſides, if this Judgment of the Council it ſelf ſufficed; all thoſe were to be admitted as general, which challenged that Title to themſelves. But ſome of theſe the Monarchiſts reject, as the Council of *Conſtance* before the union of the three obediences, and that of *Baſil*: others the Sorboniſts, as the *Florentine*, and the *Lateran* under *Leo* X. The ſame may be ſaid of the Pope. For every one of theſe four Councils were decreed to be General by ſome Pope, yet none of them acknowledged to be ſo by all.

[p] *Fabul. de poteſt. Papæ ſuper Concil. c. 5.*
[q] *Ubi ſupra.*

[r] *Pontificis eſt declarare, an congregatio ſit generalis ſufficienter, & an qui adſunt teneant locum ſufficienter omnium aliorum.* Mart. de fide, diſp. 5. Sect. 7.

CHAP. XIV.

That not all Oecumenical Councils are preſently lawful: That it is very difficultly known which are lawful.

THus have we conſidered the firſt condition of an Infallible Council, *Univerſality*. The ſecond follows of no leſs moment, That, *If it be lawful*. Our Adverſaries confeſs, that the

the H. Ghoſt is not indifferently preſent in all Councils, how numerous ſoever. They acknowledge even the moſt numerous to have defined erroneouſly. They require them to be rightly and canonically conſtituted, and every way lawful. Whence as often as we object to them the Errours of ſome Councils; they think it enough to anſwer ſuch were Pſeudo-Councils, Conventicles of no value, not lawful Councils, to which alone they allow the priviledge of Infallibility. That the knowledge therefore of the lawfulneſs of Councils is very difficult, however neceſſary to give aſſurance to Faith relying on the Decrees of them, and that no true certainty is to be had therein, I here undertake to prove. And the difficulty of this knowledge may hence appear; That it is utterly unknown what are the conditions neceſſary to make a Council lawful. I never yet met with any one, who dare undertake to aſſign them, much leſs demonſtrate them. Some things may be found ſcattered here and there in treating of other matters, but nothing delivered *ex profeſſo*. Yet unleſs this knowledge were fixed, theſe conditions aſſigned, agreed on, and demonſtrated, and their number exactly determined, ſo as we might be aſcertained that neither more were required, nor fewer ſufficed: in vain will Councils define, the Infallibility of their Decrees will be always uncertain.

I doubt not, but if God had intended to tie our Faith to the Decrees of Councils; he would either have tied it to all indifferently, or provided that no unlawful Councils ſhould ever be held, or given us plain and manifeſt Rules whereby to diſtinguiſh lawful from unlawful ones. For to permit divers unlawful Councils to be held, to command the faithful to adhere only to the lawful ones; and all this while to preſcribe no certain conditions, aſſign no manifeſt Characters of a lawful Council, is highly repugnant to the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God. He might indeed juſtly have left this difficult inquiry to us; if it had been accommodated to our ſtrength and capacity. But the diſcord of whole Churches in aſſigning the lawful Councils, and conſequently the Errour of ſome moſt Learned men, manifeſtly evince it to exceed both. So formerly adhered to the V. General Council the whole Eaſtern and the *Roman* Churches; *Africa*, *France*, *Spain*, and the reſt of *Italy*, openly

openly and vigorouſly rejected it. Each of theſe Churches did then abound with moſt Learned and moſt Holy men; which proveth the thing to have been very doubtful and obſcure, and difficult to be determined. The ſame may be ſaid of the Council of *Conſtance* as to the firſt Seſſions, *Baſil*, *Florence*, and the V. *Lateran*: whoſe Lawfulneſs is to this day diſputed of.

The difficulty of this matter can ariſe only from the ignorance of the conditions neceſſary to make a Council lawful. If theſe were fixed, the determination would be eaſie, unleſs the conditions themſelves were intricate and imperceptible. The Monarchiſts, who aſſert thoſe Councils to be lawful, which are called, preſided over, governed, and confirmed by the Pope, all which are eaſily known; can ſcarce doubt which are lawful Councils; whence they all agree in numbring them. Not ſo the reſt: who neither agree in aſſigning the conditions of a lawful Council, nor explain the neceſſity of each condition, nor demonſtrate what they ſay to be true. For Example, the firſt condition given by the Monarchiſts, is, That the Council be called by the Pope. So alſo many of the Sorboniſts: as *Brevicoxa* [a], who ſaith, *The Council ought to be called by the Pope, unleſs he be a notorious Heretick*: and *Richerius* [b], who affirms, *The calling of Councils ordinarily and regularly to belong to the Pope, unleſs he be diſtracted, or refuſe to do it when deſired.* *Launoy*, on the contrary, thinks it matters not by whom the Council is called, ſo it decrees rightly when met. Therefore after a clear paſſage cited out of *Maximus* his Diſputation with *Theodoſius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, he [c] concludes *the authority of Synods not to depend upon the calling of them, whether done by one or other, but upon the truth of their definitions.* Nor without reaſon. For if no Councils were lawful, but what were called by the Pope; then the ancient Chriſtians had no lawful ones; among whom all thoſe famous and holy Councils were called only by the Emperours: as *Launoy* and others have abundantly demonſtrated.

[a] *Debet Concilium authoritate Pontificis congregari, niſi in caſu in quo Papa eſſet notorius hæreticus.* Brev. apud Launoi. Epiſt. part. 8. ad Amelium.

[b] *Eſt Summi Pontificis regulariter & ordinariè generalia Concilia indicere & convocare; ita ſi rogatus id facere detrectet, &c.* Rich. Apol. axiom. 25.

[c] *Igitur non à Synodorum convocatione, quæ ab hoc vel illo fiat, ſed à rectâ fide, quæ in Synodis ſancitur, Synodorum authoritas dijudicanda eſt.* Laun. Epiſt. part. 6. p. 263.

The ſame may be ſaid of the ſecond condition aſſigned by the Monarchiſts, the *Preſidence* of the Pope in the Council either

ther by himself or by his Legates. *Richerius* [d] and *Holden* [e] do not refuse it; of whom the first teacheth the Pope hath a Right to preside over Councils; the latter affirms him to be by Divine Right Head of all Councils. But *Launoy* in proving that the Pope presided not over the first Councils, sheweth that he thinks not this condition necessary.

[d] Rich. Apol. ax. 25. & 26.
[e] Hold. Anal. fid. lib. 2. cap. 3.

The third condition is more difficult: which consists in this, That *the Council be made up of those who have a right to be present; and none others.* Who these are is not manifest. For first it is inquired, Whether Laicks be comprehended in this number? This almost all deny; yet *Peter de Monte* [f] Bishop of *Brixia*, after he hath produced many places on both sides out of the Canon Law, thence concludeth *this matter to be wonderfully doubtful.* Certainly in the Council of *Hierusalem*, which many hold to have been Oecumenical, the first and the Pattern of all Councils, Laicks were present, subscribed the Synodical Epistle together with the Apostles, and said equally with them: [g] *It seemed good to the H. Ghost, and to us.* But to exclude them, and admit only Ecclesiasticks; shall all ranks of these be admitted? This the Monarchists deny, and assert only Bishops to have ordinarily the Right of a definitive Suffrage, and Cardinals, Abbots, and Generals of Religious Orders by priviledge. The same seems to be the opinion of *Holden.* Contrariwise *Gerson* [h], *Lud. Alemannus* [i] Cardinal and President of the Council of *Basil*, *Almain* [k], *Richerius* [l], and *Vigorius* [m], vehemently contend that Presbyters, at least Parsons bearing Cure of Souls, have a right to sit in Councils. This is indeed a great Question, upon which depends the validity of all Councils. There were some (as those of *Basil*, *Constance*, *Pisa*, and the *Lateran*, by the testimony of *Alemannus* an Eye-witness) in which Presbyters had a decisive Vote, but far more (even all the rest) from which they were excluded. If they have a right; all these last Councils are unlawful: if not, all the first.

[f] *Ista jura supra pro utraque parte producta reddunt hanc materiam mirabiliter dubiam.* Tract. de Monarchiâ.
[g] Acts xv.
[h] Gers. de potest. Eccl. consid. 12.
[i] Apud Æneam Silvium. Hist. Concil. Basil. l b. 1.
[k] De sup. potest. Eccl.
[l] Apol. ax. 21. 34.
[m] Comm. cap. ult.
[n] Lup. Tom. 1. p. 865.

Concerning Abbots there arises another doubt. They have sat in Councils now for many Ages by Priviledge. The first who obtained it, as *Lupus* [n] observeth, was that most wicked *Barsumas*, who made no small bawling in the *Ephesine Latrocinium.* But it is inquired, who had Power to give them such a Privi-

a Priviledge. Certainly that Spirit which revealeth Truth, and as our Saviour tells us, *bloweth where it liſteth*, cannot be obliged by any humane Grant to confer Infallibility on thoſe, to whom he never promiſed it. The Monarchiſts themſelves acknowledge the Pope cannot confer on his Legates the priviledge of not erring. How then ſhall either Pope or Council give it to Abbots? But if they cannot; then are unlawful all thoſe Councils wherein Abbots ſat, thoſe eſpecially wherein they exceeded the Biſhops in number, as the Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* III. in which (by *Bellarmin*'s ° computation) were preſent 1283 Prelates, of which only 473 Biſhops; and that of *Conſtance*, which among a 1000 Fathers had no more than 300 Biſhops. The ſame Queſtion is moved concerning Procurators of Biſhops. For 'tis juſtly doubted, whether Biſhops can delegate that Power of defining matters of Faith without danger of Errour, and transfer it upon others that are no Biſhops. For if not, all thoſe Councils will be invalid, wherein theſe Procurators were admitted. Now that they cannot, ſeemeth probable. For to omit that, the Monarchiſts affirm the Pope cannot communicate his Infallibility, and that Biſhops ſhould be able to do more than the Pope, ſeems incredible; I urge that this Procuration is not allowed even in temporal Cauſes. Judges are not permitted to ſubſtitute others who may give Judgment, and pronounce Sentence in their ſtead. And if this be thought inconvenient in judging the frail and momentany things of life; how much more will it be in defining matters that relate to eternal Salvation? Laſtly, delegated Judges can never ſubdelegate another; unleſs the Delegant ſhall expreſly grant Power of doing it. Let our Adverſaries therefore either ſhew where God hath given Biſhops power to conſtitute Procurators to ſit in Councils in their Name; or confeſs it to be uncertain whether thoſe Councils are lawful, in which theſe Procurators ſit.

° Bell. de Concil. lib. 1. cap. 5. & 7.

They will plead Preſcription perhaps for this; and urge that it is not probable a Cuſtom received and approved by ſo many Ages, ſhould not be lawful. But they have no Right to make uſe of this Argument. For *Widdrington* P in replying to that Objection of the Aſſertors of the depoſing Power, That Kings and Emperours have been depoſed by the Church, and therefore may be ſo; anſwers out of *Sylveſter*, That it doth

P *Aliud eſt facere de facto, aliud determinare quid ita poſſit fieri de jure.* Widd. contra Schulck. pag. 241.

doth no way follow, *it being one thing to do a thing, another to determine that it may be done lawfully.* And *Richerius* [q] freely reprehends many things observed in the Councils. Laſtly, *Holden* [r] tells us, *That all Synods, even Oecumenical, may in ſome meaſure err in matters of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, as moſt Divines hold.* If in thoſe, then ſurely in things which they neither command nor define, but only tolerate.

[q] Apol. ax. 38.

[r] *Theologi paſſim affirmant poſſe quodammodo errare Synodos omnes, etiam Oecumenicas, in legibus ad Eccleſ. diſciplinæ regimen ſpectantibus.* Hold. Anal. fid. l. 2. c. 3.

The Preſidents of the Council of *Trent* were very much perplexed with this Queſtion, and knew not well what to do in it. Cardinal *Palavicini* [s] relates how they conſulted the Court of *Rome* and the ableſt Canoniſts, and employed Learned men, *Scipio Lancelottus* and *Michael Thomaſius*, to write concerning it. The Queſtion propoſed was, Whether to Procurators were of Right due a deciſive Suffrage in the Synod? This they determined in the Negative; as well becauſe it was not a matter of contract or private buſineſs, [illegible] which theſe Procurators were employed, but the common concern of the whole Church; as becauſe they bore not that Office in the Church, to which God had promiſed the aſſiſtance of the H. Ghoſt in Oecumenical Synods. But becauſe the cuſtom of the Church was contrary, and ſome ſhew of Arguments appeared on the other ſide: the Legates thought not fit to determine this Queſtion themſelves, but expected to know the pleaſure of the Court of *Rome*.

[s] Hiſt. Concil. Trid. lib. 21. cap. 1.

Thus much for the third condition. *Gelaſius* [t] aſſigns many together, while treating of the difference of lawful and unlawful Synods, he defineth a lawful Synod to be that *which acteth according to the Scriptures, Tradition of the Fathers, Eccleſiaſtical Rules, and in defence of Catholick Faith and Communion; that to be unlawful which acteth contrary.* I inquire not now, whether all theſe conditions be neceſſary. I only ſay that it will be very difficult this way to diſtinguiſh lawful from unlawful Synods. For how few can compare the Decrees of them with Scripture, Fathers, and Eccleſiaſtical Rules? *Maximus* requireth much fewer things. For he would have nothing elſe inquired, but only whether the Council decreed rightly. For to *Theodoſius* Biſhop of *Caſarea* objecting, That *the* Lateran *Synod held at* Rome *under Pope* Martin, *was not received,*

[t] *Secundum Scripturas, ſec. traditionem Patrum, ſec. Eccleſiaſticas regulas, pro fide Catholicâ & communione.* Gel. ad Epiſc. Dard. epiſt. 13.

ceived, becauſe not held by the Emperour's Command, he thus replieth [a]: *If the Commands of the Emperour, and not their holy Faith, makes Synods valid, then muſt you receive the Synods held by the Command of Princes againſt the Doctrine of Conſubſtantiality, as thoſe of* Tyre, Antioch, Seleucra, *&c. For all they were called by the Emperours, but all condemned by reaſon of the impiety of the heretical Doctrines confirmed in them. For the pious Rule of the Church acknowledgeth only thoſe for holy and lawful Synods, which the truth of their Decrees have approved.* To which *Theodoſius* rejoyned: *So it is as you affirm: for the truth of their Doctrines makes Synods valid.* So they, and with them *Launoy* above cited. Which if it be admitted, the Controverſie is at an end. None of us will deny thoſe Councils are to be aſſented to which have decreed rightly. But how ſhall we know, whether they have decreed rightly. Here lyeth the difficulty, our Adverſaries, eſpecially being Judges, who are averſe to all diſcuſſion, and affirm it to be above the capacity of the people. Which way ſoever therefore they turn themſelves, they cannot deny it to be very difficultly known which are lawful Councils, and conſequently which, although confirmed by the Pope, can afford certainty and firmneſs to our Faith.

[a] *Si Synodos quæ factæ ſunt juſſiones Imperatorum firmant, & non ſua fides, recipe Synodos, quæ contra homouſion factæ ſunt, &c. Omnes enim has Imperatorum juſſio aggregavit. Attamen omnes damnatæ ſunt propter impietatem infidelium dogmatum ab eis confirmatorum.—— illas nrvit ſanctas & probabiles Synodos pius Eccleſiæ Canon, quas rectitudo dogmatum approbavit—— Et dixit Theodoſius, Ita eſt ut aſſeris; dogmatum quippe rectitudo Synodos roborat.* Diſp. Maximi cum Theod. inter Anaſtaſii Collectanea à Sirmondo edita Pariſ. 1620. p. 161, 162.

CHAP. XV.

That it is uncertain whether any Councils have been Free.

FReedom is ſo neceſſary to the being of an infallible Council, that all aſſign it as a condition, none omit it: and herein thoſe two great Antagoniſts *Edmund Richerius* and *Andrew Duval* agree; of which the firſt makes this his XXII. axiom [a]: That the *Liberty of Voting is an eſſential condition wholly neceſſary to the Celebration of Synods, and ſo neceſſary, that without it the H. Ghoſt preſides not over Eccleſiaſticks met in Council. For the Apoſtle* [b] *ſaith, Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty:* and an Anonymous

[a] *Libertatem ferendi ſuffragii eſſe conditionem eſſentialem ad celebrationem Synodorum penitus neceſſariam, &c.*

[b] 2 Cor. iii. 17.

[c] *Numerosissima Concilia, qualia fuêre, &c. propter hanc libertatis carentiam illegitima sunt pronunciata.* [d] *Caruit libertate Conciliis necessariâ.* Duvall. de potest. Pont. part. 4. quæst. 6.

Author [c] of a Tract offered to the Assembly of the *French* Clergy, saith, That *most numerous Councils, such as those of* Ariminum *and the* II. *of Ephesus for want of this liberty have been pronounced unlawful.* On the other side *Duval* [d] speaking of the Council of *Ariminum*, saith, *It wanted the Liberty necessary to Councils*, and afterwards of the II. *Ephesine* Council, that although lawfully called, yet it proceeded unlawfully, being over-awed by violence of *Dioscorus*, in like manner as the Council of *Ariminum* had been by *Constantius*. The same saith *Melchior Canus* [e].

[e] Can. Loc. Theol. & lib. 5. cap. ult.

[f] *Incipio definitio Catholica habita ab omnibus Catholicis Episcopis, priusquàm per terrenam potestatem territi hæreticorum consortio sociarentur.* Hil. in fragm.

[g] Κατὰ φιλονεικίαν καὶ βίαν συντιθέντα. Athan. Epist. ad Episc. Afric.

[h] Τετάχθω ἐκκλησιαστικὴ σύνοδος μακρὰν τῦ παλατίυ ἐν ᾗ βασιλεὺς ἢ παρεῖναι, ἢ νόμος παραγίνεται, ἢ δικαιῖς ἀνειλῆ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὁ τῦ Θεῦ φόβος ἐρχῆ, καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀποστόλων διάταξις. Id. Epist. ad Solit.

[i] Καὶ πάντα ἔχοντας μεθ' ἑαυτῶν τὰ ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ πεπραγμένα, ἃ δὴ λύσει τῶν κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐκεῖ γενομένων. Basil. Epist. 52. ad Athan.

[k] *Nusquam coactum concilium nisi falsitati subscripsit; sicut in Arimin, &c.* Fac. lib. 12. cap. 3.

The Antients consent hereto. St. *Hilary* [f] giveth this Inscription to the first Decree of *Ariminum*; *This is the Catholick definition composed by all the Catholick Bishops, before that terrified with the Secular Power, they were joyned to the Society of Heretick.* And St. *Athanasius* having rejected [g] the Decrees of this Council of *Ariminum*, because *extorted by contention and force*, and desiring a lawful Council, *Let an Ecclesiastical Synod*, saith he [h], *be held far from the Palace, where neither the Emperour is at hand, nor his Commissioner intrudes himself, nor any Judge threatens; but where the sole fear of God and institution of the Apostles sufficeth.* St. *Basil* [i] thought the meer relation of the violence used in the Council of *Ariminum* enough to invalidate all the acts of it. Lastly, *Facundus* [k] saith, *Never did any forced Council subscribe to any thing but Errour, as happened in those of* Ariminum *and* Ephesus.

That a lawful Synod therefore ought to be free, is on all sides confessed. But we are not to imagin that this freedom is taken away only by Stripes, Imprisonment and the like. There are other more secret and no less efficacious means to obtain the same end. Among these *Canus* and *Richerius* reckon threats; St. *Ambrose*

Ambroſe the favour of Princes; when he ſaith [l] of the Fathers of *Ariminum*, *That ſeeking the favour of the Emperour, they loſt the favour of God, and deſiring to pleaſe great Men, ſubjected themſelves to a perpetual curſe.* Richerius [m] aſſerts this liberty is hindred *by force, threats, or other Factions and Plots, by immoderate making of Parties, favours, giving of Money or any other Gifts.* Card. *Perron* [n] ſaith, the deſire of pleaſing hath often crept in among Princes, and ſpoiled and corrupted the judgment of Synods. *Holden* [o] requireth that *all things be maturely diſcuſſed in the Synod without any begging of Votes, or ſollicitous making of Parties.* Laſtly *Eſtrix* [p] having ſaid, that the Biſhops of the II. *Epheſine* Council were forced by the violence of *Dioſcorus* to ſubſcribe to Hereſie, hath theſe words: But *you will ſay, this they did, compelled by Force and Terrour. True: but thoſe who can be compelled by Terrour to approve Hereſie; why may they not be induced to the ſame by other Reaſons, or any inordinate Deſire?*

[l] *Dum Imperatoris gratiam ſequuntur, Dei gratiam perdiderunt; qui cum placere potentibus aucupantur, maledictoſe perpetuo ſubſidere.* Ambr. in Luc. 6.

[m] *Vi aut minis, vel aliis ſtudiis aut fabricis, & prenſationibus immoderatis, vel gratiâ, pecuniâ aut pretio, vel rebus pecuniâ æſtimabilibus.* Rich. Apol. axiom. 22.

[n] Du Perron Repliq. liv. 1. chap. 28.

[o] *Abſque ſuffragiorum ambitu aut ſollicitâ prenſatione.* Hold. Anal. fid. lib. 2. cap. 3.

[p] *Hæc illi, inquies, vi & terrore compulſi. Fateor: ſed qui terrore compelli potuerunt ad approbandam hæreſin, quidni potuiſſent delabi eodem aliis rationibus aut cupiditate pravâ impellente?* Eſtr. Diat. aſſert. 43.

From what hath been ſaid, I gather four things: I. That liberty in voting is a condition abſolutely neceſſary to a lawful and Infallible Council. II. That this liberty is infringed not only by open force, but alſo by threats, promiſes, gifts, ſolliciting of Votes, or any other ſecret Arts. III. That this may not only be, but hath actually been done, and that more than once. IV. That theſe things are ſo certain, that they are acknowledged by our Adverſaries, both Sorboniſts and Monarchiſts. But if theſe be true, as moſt certainly they are; we can never ſafely aſſent to the Decrees of a Council, till we be aſſured that no methods of Violence or Corruption, either manifeſt or ſecret, were uſed to infringe its liberty. But ſince none can know this but God alone, it is thence moſt evident, that we are not only not obliged to a blind aſſent to the Definitions of any Council, but that it would be a moſt groſs folly and manifeſt danger of Errour to do it: becauſe none but free Councils are Infallible; and no man can poſſibly know which are free.

Melchior Canus [q] ſaw this, who having produced the Example

[q] *Ita fiet, ut nullius Synodi explorata authoritas habeatur.* Can. loc. Theol. l. 5. c. 5.

of

of the II. *Epheſine* Synod adds, That *if a true and a lawful Synod can err through fear, then Hereticks may pretend that all the reſt were ſubſervient to the Luſts of Popes and Emperours; and ſo the Authority of no one Synod will be left certain.* Nor indeed is this fear of *Canus* vain. For long ſince many both Hereticks and Catholicks have complained of the violated liberty of Councils. So *Euſebius*, *Theognis* and *Maris*, repenting of their having ſubſcribed in the Council of *Nice*, came to the Emperour; and told him, *We have done wickedly, O Emperour, in that being terrified by you we ſubſcribed to Hereſy*: As *Philoſtorgius* [r] relateth. So *Ibas* in his famous Epiſtle to *Maris* the *Perſian* complaineth, the Fathers of the I. *Epheſine* Council were corrupted by *Cyrill*'s Gold. The Legates of the *Roman* See made the like complaint in the Council of *Chalcedon*, *Lucentius* [s] telling the Preſidents in open Council that the Biſhops were circumvented, and forced to ſubſcribe to Canons, to which they had not aſſented. In the V. Synod *Lupus* [t] ſaith that Juſtinian *became a* Diocletian, *and all the* Greek *Biſhops were Servants to his inclinations*; and relateth the words of *Euſtathius* the Presbyter, who affirms that nothing was therein done without violence, neceſſity, partiality, and affection. *Richerius* [u] ſaith, that *from the times of* Gregory VII. *to the Council of Conſtance for 340 years, the Popes were wont arbitrarily to impoſe Laws upon the Church; and having formed Canons and Definitions at home, to call Synods, and imperiouſly to propoſe them, where none dared ſo much as to mutter againſt them*: and in another place [x] tells us, That Gregory VII. *contrary to the cuſtom uſed in the Church for more than a thouſand years, introduced that order, that all Biſhops ſhould ſwear Obedience to the See of* Rome; *whence*, ſaith he, *the liberty of all ſubſequent Councils was taken away: but much more by the Popes arrogating to himſelf the collation of Eccleſiaſtical Dignities and Benefices: ſo that as long as his Government in the Church continueth, it ſeemeth altogether impoſſible to have a free Council.* *Duvall* [y] evinceth the Council of *Baſil* was not free, from *Æneas Sylvius*, who relates that the *Eugenian* party being terrified with threats, all roſe up together, and cried out in the Council, *Liberty, Liberty is taken away from us. How is it that the Patriarch threatens he will break our heads?* The *Greeks* returning home proteſted againſt the force put upon them in the Council of *Florence*, and therefore would not ſtand to the Decrees of it. As for the Council of *Trent*, *Richerius*

[r] *Apud Nicetam*, Theſ. lib. 5. cap. 8.

[s] Concil. Chalced. Act. 16.

[t] *In hâc Synodo Juſtinianus Dioclet ianum induerat; ejus affectibus ſervichant omnes Græcorum Epiſcopi.* Lup. tom. 1. p. 737.

[u] *Ita ut vix ullus contramuſſare auderet: quæ forma Conciliorum habendorum viguit à ſeculo Gregorii VII. ad tempora Synodi Conſtantienſis.* Rich. Apol. ax. 38.

[x] Hiſt. Concil. lib. 1. cap. 13. *Ita ut hoc ſtante regimine omnino impoſſibile videatur liberum haberi Concilium.*

[y] Duvall. Anteloq. ad lib. de poteſt. Pont.

rius [a] assures us, That the *Essential Liberty of Councils (which giveth to the Bishops full power of proposing what they please) was wholly taken away; while none were permitted to propose any thing but the Popes Legates, upon pretext indeed of avoiding confusion, but really that all occasion of disputing freely concerning the necessity of reforming the Church both in Head and Members might be taken away from the Fathers of the Council. And these are the fine arts, wherewith the Court of* Rome *upholds her absolute Monarchy or rather Tyranny. That in modern Councils Bishops are not Judges and Legislators, as they ought to be, but only Counsellors to the Pope, and cannot freely give their Suffrages in the Council; because the Infallible Power and absolute Will of the Pope, must now adayes be received and observed instead of all Synod, Deliberation, Consent, Law, Canon, and Communion of Saints: whereby the Church is become the Bondslave of the Pope, as* Cajetan [a] *impiously and flatteringly calls her.* But the intolerable oppression of Liberty and various Arts used in the Council of *Trent*, F. *Paul* amply relates in his History of that Council. You will say, perhaps, these are false, and calumnies. But how doth this appear? Other Historians perhaps deliver contrary accounts. But how shall we be ascertained they tell truth? If the first Historians be disbelieved; why may not these also? How ever it be, possible it is the first relation may be true; and until they be proved false, we can never be certain they are not true, can never esteem those Councils free, and consequently not Infallible. For that the irregularity of a Council is not manifest, sufficeth not to found our Faith upon its Decrees; but to that end the perfect regularity of it must be known and evident: which cannot be, while the freedom of it is uncertain.

[a] *Colore quidem impediendæ confusioni, sed revera ut omnis occasio liberius disputandi de necessitate Ecclesiæ reformandæ in Capite & in membris patribus Concilii tolleretur. Et hæ sunt artes eximiæ; quibus Curia Romana fuam absolutam fulcit Monarchiam, ne dicam tyrannidem.* Rich. Apol. ax. 22. *&* in Epilogo. *Si hodie celebrentur Concilia, Episcopi non sunt Judices, &c. Item liberam sententiæ dictionem non habent in Synodis, quoniam præstus infallibilis & voluntas absoluta Papæ pro omni Synodo, deliberatione, consensu, lege, Canone, & communione Sanctorum cœli servarique debet, ex quo etium, &c.*

[a] Apolop. part. 1. cap. 1.

But this is not all, *Canus* and *Estrix* before truly observed, That herein no more account is to be had of *Fear*, than of any other perturbation of the mind: and that he who can be forced by threats to decree against his Conscience, may no less vehemently be shaken and drawn from the truth by Hatred, Anger, Hope, Desire, or the like. Certainly the efficacy of these Passions is no whit less; and if the H. Ghost defends not Bishops in Council from the impressions of Fear, neither will he from the temptations of other Affections. Suppose therefore we be assured no force was used to infringe

infringe the Liberty of the Council, which we can never be; yet this will not suffice, unless we be at the same time ascertained that the Bishops were corrupted with no Passions, led by no Affections, and served no Interest in giving their Suffrages. Till then we must suspend our assent to the Decrees of any Council; as justly doubting, whether that may not have undergone the same unhappiness, which hath attended some former Councils. So *Lupus* accuseth the Fathers of the I. *Constantinopolitan* Council of envy against the *Western* Bishops, but especially the Church of *Rome*. *Liberatus* relates, That *Theodorus Ascidas*, Favourite to the Emperour *Justinian*, in revenge of the Condemnation of his admired *Origen*, projected the design of the V. Council, and thereby extorted from the whole World the Condemnation of the *Tria Capitula*. *Duval*, That the Council of *Basil* was blinded with hatred against Pope *Eugenius*. What happened to these, might as well to other Councils, and who can assure us it did not?

But no Liberty seemeth more requisite to the establishment of Truth, than that which purgeth the Mind from preconceived Opinions, and addicts it wholly to Truth. For it cannot be hoped, that they who are infected with Errour, should define rightly; and immediately upon their entring the Council, from Patrons of Heresie become Champions of Faith. This Experience hath often taught. For why did the Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalcedon* define rightly, but because they consisted of Orthodox Bishops? Why the *African* under *Cyprian*, and all the *Arrian* Councils erroneously; but because they were made up of Bishops favouring those Errours? Why the Council of *Sardica* both rightly and erroneously, well at *Sardica*, ill at *Philippopolis*; but because the Orthodox Bishops stay'd at *Sardica*, the Heretical went to *Philippopolis*? How comes it to pass therefore, that in assigning so many conditions of an Infallible Council, this one should be forgotten, the most necessary of all, that it consist only of Orthodox Bishops? Wisely then did the Popes, *Leo* and *Vigilius*, who laboured hard, that only an equal number of *Greeks* and *Latins* might be admitted into the IV. and V. Councils, the one fearing the *Eutychians*, the other the Enemies of the *Tria Capitula*. However it be, if Threats and Promises, if Fear and Desire can hinder Orthodox Bishops from defining truly; much more will preconceived Opinions hinder Heretical ones from decreeing rightly: Since the first are drawn to favour Errour unwillingly, and act in it coldly; the latter promote it with their utmost Zeal and greatest Vigour.

Lastly,

Laſtly, I do not ſee, how if a Council be placed beyond all danger of erring by the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, Fear, or any other Paſſions can ſo far prevail in it, as to divert the Fathers of it from the right way. This might indeed be, if Councils were infallible in their Nature, but in their Hypotheſis, who aſcribe their Infallibility only to the external direction of the Holy Spirit, it is highly abſurd and irrational. For cannot the Holy Ghoſt invincibly arm the minds of thoſe, in whom he dwells, againſt the terrors of Threats or Temptations of deſire? Why then is the Hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, ſung before every Seſſion of Councils? Why is it expreſly ſaid, *Accende lumen ſenſibus; Infunde amorem cordibus; Infirma noſtri corporis virtute firmans perpeti?* Why is he called the Living Fountain, Fire, Charity, and Spiritual Unction? Why the finger of Gods Right Hand, but to deſign his powerful Aſſiſtance againſt all the defects of Nature, and infirmities of Mind? This aſſiſtance therefore is deſired. If it be obtained, in vain are Threats, Bribes, Promiſes, and other Frauds: they can never corrupt the Council. If it be not, who can aſſure us the other part of the Petition is granted, *viz.* Illumination of Mind to diſcern and diſpel the Sophiſtry of Hereticks. But why do I inſiſt on this? If we conſider thoſe Holy Men, in whom the Holy Ghoſt is thought to have dwelt, and armed with his Graces for the defence of Truth, as *Athanaſius*, *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Hilary*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtin*, and the reſt; we ſhall find that they were impenetrable to fear or flattery, and conſtantly deſpiſed both the threats and promiſes of *Arian* Princes. If the Holy Ghoſt therefore preſides over Councils, neither the force nor fraud of Enemies can obſtruct the Infallibility of it; and we may much more juſtly and truly, than *Richerius* did before, apply thoſe words of St. *Paul* to them, *Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty.* For he alledged them to prove that Liberty is a Condition pre-required to the preſence of the Holy Ghoſt in a Council: whereas the conſtruction of them manifeſts it to be rather an effect of this preſence: according to that of our Saviour: [2] *If the Son ſhall make you free, ye ſhall be free indeed:* and [3] *the Truth ſhall make you free.* For the Holy Ghoſt is the Spirit of Chriſt; ſo that what is done by the one, may be well attributed to the other. But to make an end. Our Adverſaries found the Infallibility of Councils upon the promiſes of the

[2] John VIII. 36.

[3] *Ibid.* v. 32.

aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt made to the Apoſtles by our Saviour in thoſe words, *The Spirit of Truth ſhall guide you into all truth*; *I will ſend another Comforter*, &c. which they maintain to have been ſpoken not only to the Apoſtles, but to their Succeſſors alſo to the Worlds end. If ſo, then muſt neceſſarily be conferred on both an Infallibility of the ſame kind and quality. But were the Apoſtles preſerved by the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt from involuntary Errors, and left unarmed to the aſſaults of Threats and Promiſes? Certainly no. Chriſt both promiſed and gave to them his aſſiſtance againſt all kind of Temptations and Corruptions, whereby they might be drawn to betray the Truth. Either Councils therefore have the ſame aſſiſtance, or can pretend no ſhare in theſe Promiſes.

Two ſeveral ways therefore is the Authority of Councils overthrown by the Doctrine and Conceſſions of our Adverſaries about the neceſſity of their Liberty; both in that it is certain they may be drawn from Truth by any other means as well as defect of Liberty, and uncertain whether there was ever any free Councils. The *Sorboniſts* can oppoſe nothing to this: but the *Monarchiſts* think they can. They pretend that when a Council is thus corrupted, yet the Rock of the Church, the Pope, remains unſhaken, whom no force can move, as for whom Chriſt prayed, that his Faith ſhould never fail. For firſt, the *Sorboniſts* deny this; which ſufficeth for me, as proving that pretended Privilege of the Pope not to be of Faith, and ſo not able to give certainty to the Decrees of a Council, whoſe Liberty is ſuſpected. But then this invincible Conſtancy of the Pope is demonſtrated to be falſe by the Examples of *Marcellinus*, *Liberius*, *Paſchal* II. and *Eugenius* IV. to which we may add a fifth, that of Pope *Vigilius*, from whom the Emperour *Juſtinian*, after he had extorted by force and threats the Condemnation of the *Tria Capitula* from the fifth Council, extorted an Approbation of the Council's Decree by the ſame Method: as he did afterwards in like manner from his Succeſſor *Pelagius*. *Luput* [4] acknowledgeth both, ſaying, that *Vigilius*, *overcome with hardſhips*, *and the deſire of recovering*

[4] *Vigilius erumnis laſſus & libertatis ac ſedis recuperanda amore victus, tandem conſenſit in Synodum. — Pelagius Romani Epiſcopatûs amore ad recipiendam Synodum eſt inflexus.* Lup. in Concil. Tom. 1. p. 737.

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his Liberty and See; and *Pelagius, corrupted with deſire of the Papal Chair*, both conſented and approved the Synod. Popes therefore as well as Councils may be drawn to decree againſt their Conſciences. No where is to be found invincible Conſtancy; no where the deſired Certainty.

CHAP. XVI.

That it cannot be known, whether the Intention of the Fathers of the Council be right.

AS Lawfulneſs and Liberty are neceſſary to the conſtitution of an Infallible Council; ſo is a right proceeding in it, when conſtituted. This conſiſts in three things; a good Intention, an accurate Examination of the Queſtion to be defined, and a Canonical Concluſion. Every one of theſe beget new ſcruples and perplexities; of which in their Order. Firſt therefore it is required, that the Biſhops, laying aſide all Worldly Intereſts, ſeek only the finding out of Truth, the Glory of God, and Edification of the Church. For they cannot define Truth, unleſs they know it: Know it they cannot, but either wholly by their own Sagacity and Induſtry, or by the Aſſiſtance and Illumination of the Holy Ghoſt. The firſt way muſt be and is acknowledged to be fallible by our Adverſaries, who therefore fly to the ſecond, and impute all the certainty of Conciliar definitions to the direction of the Holy Ghoſt. Hence the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, and the Hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, is wont to precede every Seſſion of Councils; and this Title prefixed to their Decrees, *The Holy Univerſal Synod Lawfully Aſſembled in the Holy Ghoſt*; and oftentimes that other, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and to us*; which ſuppoſeth the Council to be directed and aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt.

But can we imagine that Holy Spirit illuminates their Minds, whoſe Hearts he doth not ſanctifie, and inflame with love of

Truth and zeal of Divine Glory? He inspireth not Souls defiled with Sin, and addicted to worldly Considerations. So the Author of the Book of Wisdom: [1] *For into a malicious Soul Wisdom shall not enter; nor dwell in the Body that is subject unto sin. For the Holy Spirit of Discipline will flee Deceit, and remove from Thoughts that are without Understanding, and will not abide when unrighteousness cometh in.*--- Our Saviour promiseth the knowledge of his Truth only to those, who by Piety and the Love of Heavenly things, have fitted their Minds for the reception of it. So he tells the believing *Jews*, [2] *If ye continue in my word, then are ye my Disciples indeed.* And *ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.* And in another place, [3] *He that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father; and I will love him, and manifest my self to him.* The like saith *David*, [4] *The meek will he guide in judgment; and the meek will he teach his way.* And a little after, *The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will shew them his Covenant.* And St. *Paul* speaking of them that received not the love of Truth, that they might be saved, saith, [5] *And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion that they should believe a lye.* And in another place [6] asserteth, that *some having put away a good Conscience, made shipwrack in the Faith.*

[1] Sap. I. 4, 5.
[2] John VIII. 31, 32.
[3] John XIV. 21.
[4] Psal. XXV.
[5] 2 Thes. II. 11.
[6] 1 Tim. I. 19.

These places cannot be eluded by saying, they speak of a Practical and not a Speculative Knowledge of the Truth. For besides that this can by no means be apply'd to the two last places, I cannot see with what appearance of reason God can be said to promise Knowledge of Truth to those that love him, fear him; and to the meek, who by being such, must be supposed to have had it before. A Theoretical therefore, or more clear and distinct knowledge of the Truth is to be understood to be here promised to Vertuous and sincerely Pious Persons. Whence it cannot be supposed the same by the ordinary Law of Divine Government is granted to prophane and wicked Bishops in a Council, if there be any such, as none denieth such may be. This St. *Chrysostom* asserts, when upon those words, *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them*; he saith, [7] *What then? are not two or three gathered together*

[7] Τί οὖν; οὐκ εἰσὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνεγμένοι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, εἰσὶ μὲν, σπανίως δὲ οὐ γὰρ ἁπλῶς τὴν σύνοδον λέγει, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐπιστητεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν μετὰ τούτου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀπαιτεῖ τῆς ἀκριβείας. Chrysost. in Matth. Homil. 60.

ther in his name? Yes, but very rarely. For he doth not only mention a Meeting (a Synod) or require that alone, but together with that requireth others Vertues, and that with great exactneſs, and in the firſt place. *Nicholas de Clemangis* [8] proveth the ſame thing largely and accurately. He affirms, the firſt four Councils were for no other reaſon had in ſo great Honour, than becauſe they conſiſted of holy and pious Men; and denieth that wicked Men are directed by the Holy Ghoſt. *For how ſhould he hear, viſit, or illuſtrate them, who reſiſt him, and endeavour to extinguiſh him in others, when they cannot in themſelves, who inſtead of the fire of Charity are enflamed with the heat of Ambition?* He obſerveth alſo, That the Fathers of Ancient Councils uſed to begin their Seſſions with Faſtings, Prayers, and Tears; *Which would have been unneceſſary,* ſaith he, *if they had been certain they could not err, nor be deceived in their Undertakings, nor be defrauded of their deſire for want of due preparation and diſpoſition.*

[8] *Illos quomodo audiat aut viſitet, aut illuſtret, qui ſibi adverſantur, illumque cum in ſe non poſſint, in aliis extinguere nituntur, qui pro igne charitatis ardere ſunt ambitionis inflammati?* Clem. in diſp. cum Schol. par.

The Preſidents of the Council of *Trent* were perſwaded of the truth of this. For in the beginning of the Council they penned an Admonition, which they commanded frequently to be read, wherein they exhorted the Fathers to be touched with a true and lively ſenſe of the Sins that occaſioned ſo many Evils; [9] that *otherwiſe in vain was the Council celebrated, in vain the Holy Ghoſt invocated:* For that he, how greatly ſoever intreated, would not be preſent: That Repentance and Reformation of Life was abſolutely neceſſary to obtain the aſſiſtance of that Holy Spirit, who had formerly refuſed to give any Anſwer to the *Jews* conſulting him in the Prophet *Ezekiel*, becauſe of their Abominations; that they muſt neceſſarily abſtain from thoſe things which are wont to corrupt the love of Truth, and deprave the Judgment; as all Paſſions and perturbations of the Mind, Anger, Hatred, Favour, or the like. *For theſe are the things which grieve and drive away the Holy Ghoſt, whom we have invoked; without whom we can do nothing that may tend to the good and peace of the Church.* Hence may be noted the ſhameleſs folly of Cardinal *Palavicini*'s pretence, who would make his Readers believe, That the Preſidents by all this meant no more, than that Repentance and amendment of Life was neceſſary, not to defining rightly, but to the ſucceſsful execution of their Definitions, and happy extirpation of Hereſy. Conſonantly to the Admonition of

[9] *Niſi hæc bene cognita & perſpecta fuerint, fruſtra intramus in concilium, fruſtra invocamus Spiritum Sanctum, &c. Hæc ſunt quæ contriſtant & repellunt quem invocavimus Sp. S. ſine quo nihil omnino facere poterimus, quod ad bonum & pacem Eccleſiæ cedat.*

of the Preſidents, *Didacus Payva Andradius*, who was preſent in the Council, teacheth, [10] That *thoſe only may be ſaid to meet in the name of Chriſt, whom not any private intereſts, not Ambition, Hatred, Envy, or the like; but Charity, and the love of Peace, Truth, and Piety actuates and enflames. For they who meet to ſerve their own Intereſt or Party, or to deceive Mankind with the ſpecious name of a Council; meet not in the name of Chriſt, nor are to be called Eccleſiaſtical, but peſtilent Aſſemblies.* Laſtly, *Duval* [11] abſolutely requireth that the Biſhops act in the Council, *Laying aſide all Humane Affections, and propoſing to themſelves only the finding out of Truth.* And in another place, *That no fraud, force, or injury be offered to any, that none of thoſe preſent be prepoſſeſſed with any Paſſion or Commotion of Mind, but that all be led with the love of Truth.*

[10] *Ii verò in Chriſti nomine congregari dicuntur, quos non privata commoda inducunt, non honoris aura, &c. Nam qui ut privatis rationibus conſulant, contentionibus ſerviant, miſeroſque homines ſpecioſo Concilii nomine decipiant, coeunt; minime quidem in Chriſti nomine convenire, nec Eccleſiaſticos ſed mortiferos conventus agitare dicendi ſunt.* Andr. def. Concil. Trid. Lib. 1.

[11] *Sepoſitis humanis affectibus, & ſolâ ſibi propoſitâ veritate.* Duval de poteſt. pont. part. 4. qu. 6. *Ubi nemini ſit fraus, vis, aut injuria, nulluſque adſtantium animi motu aut paſſione præpeditur, ſed omnes veritatis amore ducuntur.* Id. qu. 10.

It is manifeſt therefore both from Reaſon and the Confeſſion of our Adverſaries, That Truth cannot infallibly be defined in a Council, unleſs the Biſhops bring with them Minds truly deſirous of it, and animated with Zeal for the Honour of God; and moreover, cordially implore the Divine Aſſiſtance. But ſince this eſcapeth the knowledge of Man, and is perceived by God alone, the ſearcher of Hearts; whatſoever depends upon ſo dubious and obſcure a condition, muſt neceſſarily be uncertain. For who can certainly tell, whether all the Biſhops of any Council were prepared and diſpoſed, and that nothing was indulged therein to Fleſh and Blood? Neither can you ſay, that this is indeed neceſſary, but never deficient; that God takes care by his Providence the Biſhops be rightly diſpos'd, and fully perform their duty. For firſt, God hath no where promiſed this; and then Experience hath proved the contrary. This vigilant care of God had no place in the *2d. Epheſine* Council, none in the two *Conſtantinopolitan* Synods againſt Images under *Leo Iſaurus* and *Conſtantine Copronimus*, if our Adverſaries ſpeak true; none in the Council of *Baſil*, where the Biſhops were blinded with hatred againſt *Eugenius*, if we believe the partizans of the Court of *Rome*, who are wont abundantly to vilifie all Councils, that decreed contrary to their liking.

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But they are neither the first nor the only Persons, that have complained of these abuses. All know what *Gregory Nazianzen* [12] writes of the Fathers of the I. Council of *Constantinople*; whom he calls *a tumultuous Rabble, a factious Assembly*, composed of ignorant and vile fellows newly taken from the Plough, the Oar, the Army, and the Chain, of the posterity of the Collectors, who thought of nothing but falsifying their accounts, of mean Mechanicks newly started out of their shops, some of them *meer Rascals and fitter to be placed in Houses of Correction.* Yet this is the second of the four most ancient and most famous Councils; which *Gregory* I. and with him many others profess to reverence equally with the four Gospels. These irregularities made *Nazianzen* resolve never to be present in any more Synods, [13] *where nothing but Strife, Contentions, and exposing of one anothers faults, and thence mortal hatred on each side were to be observed. Isidore Peleusiota* [14] writes to *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, President of the first *Ephesine* Synod, that many of those, who were present in *Ephesus* accused him, *that seeking the Revenge of a private injury, he did not Orthodoxly enquire after the things of Christ.* And in another place he exhorts him *to leave off contention, and not take revenge of the Church for his private injuries, and sow eternal Discord under pretext of Piety.* Of *Pelagius Legate*, afterwards Pope of *Rome*, and *Theodorus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, whereof one procured *Origen*, the other *Theodorus of Mopsuestia* to be condemned, and so occasioned the fifth Synod, *Liberatus* [15] saith, *it is manifest that by those two this scandal entred into the Church, which* Theodorus *also publickly Confessed, crying out that he and* Pelagius *deserved to be burned alive for introducing that scandal.* And *Garnerius* [16] in his notes upon that place, confesseth *the thing was undertaken with a furious partiality, and incredibly imbittered minds.* Not to say that *Lupus* in a passage above cited makes *Justinian* in this whole business a Partizan of *Theodorus*, and all the *Greek* Bishops Slaves to him. Lastly an Eminent Writer, *Claudius Sainctes*, [17] who

[12] Naz. *Querel. de Episcopis & hominum ingratitudine.*

Flagriones & pistrinis digni.

[13] Ἔνθ' ἔρις, ἔνθα μόθος τε καὶ αἴσχεα κρυπτὰ πάροιθεν
Ἐις ἕνα δυσμενέων χῶρον ἀγειρόμενα.
Naz. Carm. X. *de divers. vitæ gener.*

[14] Isid. *Epist.* 310.

[15] *Illud liquere omnibus credo per* Pelagium, *&c. hoc scandalum in Ecclesiam fuisse ingressum; quod etiam publicè ipse* Theodorus *clamitavit se &* Pelagium, *vivos incendendos, per quos hoc scandalum intravit in mundum.* Liberat. Brev. cap. ult.

[16] *Etsi negotium hoc vesano partium studio, infensisque incredibiliter animis susceptum est.*

[17] *Nusquam præsentiori numine afflatus est, quàm cùm venire isthuc noluisti. Nullus enim dubito, quin præ dolore mortuus esses, si ea vidisses, quæ ad eludendam reformationem infanda patrantur.* Cl. Sanct. epist. ad Espenc.

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went with the other *French Divines* to the Council of *Trent*, relates what he observed there in these words, speaking to *Espencæus*. *Never were you more plainly inspired by God, than when you refused to come hither. For I doubt not, but you would have died with grief, if you had seen those wicked Arts, which are put in practice to elude a Reformation.*

If any one shall suspect the like of any other Council, he will have no mean Authors for his Leaders in it. However that the Fathers of any Council were better inclined, must appear to us otherwise than from the Universality of it; since Learned Men have long since observed, that many in *Oecumenical* Councils have sought any thing rather than the Glory of God. Yet is that the only way, that is or can be offered for our assurance therein.

CHAP. XVII.

That it seldom appears, whether a sufficient Inquiry hath preceded the Decrees of a Council.

THe second part of a lawful proceeding in the Council, is a diligent Inquiry and Examination of the Question to be defined. For truth is not now obtained by immediate Revelation, or Extatick Inspiration, but by a Labour and Diligence proportionate to the difficulty of the thing it self. The Bishop of a Council must carefully enquire into the Truth, patiently hear both Parties, maturely weigh the Arguments on both sides, accurately compare them with the invariable Rule of Faith, and then only when they are conscious to themselves they have omitted no part of requisite diligence, to pronounce sentence. This is the constant Opinion of our Adversaries as well as ours. *Melchior Canus*[1] teacheth, that in *Councils the Fathers ought not immediately by their Athority to*

[1] *In Conciliis non debent Patres mox quasi ex authoritate sententiam absque aliâ discussione dicere; sed collationibus & disputationibus re antè tractatâ, precibusque primùm ad Deum fusis; tum verò quæstio à Concilio sine errore finietur; Dei sc. auxilio atque favore, hominumque diligentiâ & studio conspirantibus.—Ex quo perspicuum est non dormientibus & oscitantibus Patribus Spiritum Sanctum assistere, sed diligenter humanâ viâ & ratione quærentibus rei de quâ disseritur veritatem---quamobrem qui sive Pontificum sive Conciliorum diligentiam in fidei causâ finiendâ in dubium vocant, eos necesse est Pontificum judicia ac Conciliorum infirmare.* Can. loc. Theol. lib. 5. cap. 5.

give

give Sentence; but the Matter must be first weighed in conferences, and Prayers offered up to God; then shall the Question be determined by the Council without Errour, the assistance and favour of God, the diligence and study of Men conspiring together. And then from the Examples of the Councils of Hierusalem *and* Nice concludeth, *It is manifest that the Holy Ghost assists not the Fathers when idle and careless, but diligently seeking out the truth of the Question proposed, by human means and ways; wherefore they which call in doubt the diligence of Popes or Councils in defining a matter of Faith, must necessarily invalidate the Decrees of Popes and Councils.* The same saith *Ferus* in Act. XV. 7. *Bellarmin de Concil. lib. 2. cap. 7.* Duvall Anteloq. ad lib. de potest. Pont. & part. 2. qu. 4. *Cellotius de Hierarchiâ* lib. 4 cap. 10. *Bagotius* Instit. Theol. lib. 4. disp. 5. cap. 4. sect. 1. *Maimbourg de la vraye Eglise* cap. 10. sect. 4. & 9. *Martinonus de fide disp.* 9. sect. 7. whole words would be too long to cite at large. The *Sorbonists* maintain the same thing.

So *Richerius:* [2] *The Church cannot err in deciding Questions of Right; if she useth necessary diligence, and acts prudently, as the African Fathers say in their Epistle to Pope* Cœlestin. Holden [3]: *In an infallible Synod all things ought to be done conciliarly (as* Divines *speak) so as the matter in hand be discussed with a diligent and faithful examination, without any making of parties or soliciting of votes.*

[2] *Ecclesia errare non potest in quæstionibus juris decidendis; si modò diligentiam necessariam adhibeat & prudenter agat: ut Patres Africani loquuntur.* Rich. Apol. ax. 23.

[3] *Debent omnia in hujusmodi Synodo conciliariter (ut loquuntur Theologi) peragi; ita ut prævio examine diligenti & fideli absque suffragiorum ambitu aut sollicitâ prensatione discutiatur subjecta materia.* Hold. Anal. fid. lib. 2. cap. 3.

If these Divines be in the right, as they certainly are; then what certainty can be in the Decrees of Councils? Who shall assure us, that the Bishops did all they ought to do? and how shall every private Man know that? *Canus* was not ignorant of this. *If once,* saith he, [4] *we give Heretick leave to call in question the requisite diligence of the Judges of the Church; who doth not see, that all the Decrees of Popes and Councils are presently overthrown?* He therefore takes Refuge in the Providence of God, and pretends that God, in promising Infallibility to his Church, must be supposed to have obliged himself thereby, to take care, that necessary diligence, which is the means of it, should never be wanting in the Judges of the Church. Hence, saith he,

[4] *Si semel hæretico hanc licentiam permittimus, ut in quæstionem vocent, &c. quis adeò cæcus est ut non videat omnia mox Pontificum Conciliorumque decreta labefactari? --Itaque præstat semper Pontifex quod in se est, præstatque Concilium, cum de fide pronunciant; caditque causa, si quis è nostris aliter existimat.* Can. ubi supra.

the Pope always performs his Duty, the Council their duty, when they pronounce of Faith; and if any of our Divines think otherwiſe, our cauſe is ruined.

In this Argument of *Canus* I obſerve firſt, that he confounds the Means with the Conditions. Diligence is a Condition, which God impoſeth upon the finding out Truth. If the Council neglects this, God is bound to no promiſe: the Error is to be imputed wholly to them. Secondly, if the Council can neglect no Conditions, no diligence neceſſary to defining rightly, and always punctually perform their duty; it is impoſſible it ſhould ever err. For the Divine Aſſiſtance will never be wanting to humane induſtry in Matters of Faith; and when both meet, there can be no Errour. Thirdly, if Councils therefore perform their duty, becauſe God in promiſing to them Infallibility, the end, muſt be ſuppoſed alſo to promiſe the means, whereof this is one: Then every Council is infallible, none ought to be rejected, all are indifferently to be received; becauſe God muſt be believed to have promiſed his Aſſiſtance to all Councils, not wanting in their Duty, and alſo to take care that none ſhould be wanting in it. You will ſay perhaps *Canus* underſtands not all, but only Lawful Councils. But I would know what are thoſe Lawful Councils. For Councils are ſuch three ways, upon account of their Indiction, Conſtitution, and Proceeding. If you anſwer by the two firſt ways, then the thing is falſe. For the ſecond Council of *Epheſus*, by the Confeſſion of *Bellarmine* and *Baronius*, was both rightly called an dconſtituted, yet degenerated and proceeded inordinately. If he means the third way; then his anſwer will come to no more than this, That Councils will proceed rightly, if they proceed rightly.

But to put an end to this pretence; none will deny, that the Council of *Conſtance* was lawful: Yet *Canus* confeſſeth, that neceſſary diligence was not always uſed in it. *Some things*, ſaith he, [5] *were not acted conciliarly, for in the* IV. *and* V. *Seſſions no Diſputation or Diſquiſition preceded; no Learned Men were choſen to diſpute and treat of thoſe things that were to be defined in Faith.* The ſame thing is acknowledged by *Richerius* of the great Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* III. wherein *Tranſubſtantiation* and the Depoſition of Heretical Princes were decreed.

[5] *Quædam non conciliariter acta. Nam in* IV. *&* V. *ſeſſione nec diſputatio aut diſquiſitio aliqua interceſſerat nec delecti fuerant adhuc viri docti ad differendum & tractandum ea quæ in fidei doctrinâ eſſent conſtituenda.* Id. lib. 5. cap. ult.

We

We learn, ſaith he, [6] *out of* Matthew Paris, *that nothing was acted conciliarly in that Council after the manner of other Councils, the common Votes and Suffrages of the Fathers not being ſingly diſcuſſed, weighed, and collected. When therefore 'tis one thing only to read a few Articles in a Council* (and ſo ſhuffle them up, for no more was done) *another thing to examine and decree them Synodically and Canonically, uſing due diligence. In vain doth* Bellarmin *labour to palliate the Buſineſs.* So *Maimbourg* [7] obſerveth that the Ancient Councils were far more diligent than the Modern; and for an example of this degeneracy brings this very Council of *Lateran*; wherein the weightieſt Matters of Faith, Manners, and Diſcipline were defined, and (which took up moſt of their time) Peace and War treated of; and all concluded in three weeks. The ſame Author in another place [8] wonders how the Council of *Lyons* under *Innocent* IV. wherein many things, the leaſt whereof would require a long and tedious diſcuſſion, were decreed, could be finiſhed in three Seſſions. But neither in Elder times was due diligence always obſerved. Whoſoever ſhall read the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*, will eaſily perceive how haſtily they were made. *Oſius* propounded what he thought fit. He asked the Biſhops whether it pleaſed them. They cried out, It did; nothing more was done: his Propoſitions immediately became Canons. So in the Council of *Chalcedon* in one Seſſion, or rather end of a Seſſion, when the *Pope's Legates* and *Emperour's Commiſſioners* were gone out, thinking the Seſſion was ended, ſuddenly XXVIII Canons were clapt up; whereof every one deſerved a long Conſideration.

[6] *Ex Matthæo Par. diſcimus nihil quicquam actum in illa Synodo conciliariter ex more aliorum Conciliorum, nimirum communibus votis atque ſuffragiis Patrum ſigillatim diſcuſſis, perpenſis & collectis——— Cùm ergò aliud ſit aliquot aritare capitula in Concilio, aliud, &c.* Rich. Apol. ax. 38.

[7] Maimb. *de bello ſacro lib.* 11. *ad an.* 1215.

[8] *Ibid. ad an.* 1245.

Neither can you ſay that greater care and diligence is wont to be uſed in defining Matters of Faith. Here alſo it is often wanting. For where ſhould we rather expect to find it, than in weighing the Arguments on both ſides, conſulting the rule of Faith, and ſearching out the ſence of Scripture? yet nothing is more frequent in the Decrees of Councils, than to find trifling Reaſons, falſe Gloſſes upon Scripture, and impertinent Allegations. Upon ſuch ſandy and weak Foundations are their Definitions often built. *Canus*, *Bellarmin*, *Valentia*, and many

others confeſs this. I will produce now only *Holden* and *Duvall*. *Holden* [9] ſaith, that the Prefaces, Reaſons, Arguments, and Illuſtrations of conciliar Decrees *have not the virtue of a definition*. Duvall: [10] *We confidently aſſert, that the greateſt part of the Acts* (of Councils) *pertain not to Faith: alſo the Reaſons which the Fathers rely upon in decreeing their Concluſions*. To prove this, he brings the Example of the VII. Synod; which defined Angels might be painted, becauſe they are corporeal; and of the Synod of *Eliberis*, which forbad Candles to be lighted in Church-yards, leſt the Souls of the Dead ſhould be diſturbed. To theſe he might have added many more Examples, and particularly out of the II. Council of *Nice*; where for the ſake of Images, Scripture, Fathers, and Logick are moſt ſhamefully abuſed; ſo as may create Indignation and Laughter together. Now I ask, whether thoſe can be ſaid to have examined the matter in hand diligently, uſed the Rule of Faith rightly, and conſidered the Arguments of both ſides maturely; who obtrude ſuch impertinent trifles for ſolid foundations of their Decrees? Nay, even in the Council of *Trent*, where they diſputed ſo ſharply and copiouſly, too much haſt was ſometimes made in their proceedings. Certainly when they decreed the vulgar verſion to be authentick; in whatſoever ſence that be underſtood, they muſt have decided an infinite number of things at the ſame time. For thereby the *Synod* pronounced there was no verſe in it which was not the pure Word of God, at leaſt contained nothing falſe. How great and how accurate an Examination did this require? Yet none at all uſed, the Verſion not ſo much as read before them; but the thing defined, as if it were ſelf-evident. Raſhly therefore; and if raſhly, why not falſly? In a word, this condition is neither always fulfilled; nor can it be known, but by a very few, when it is ſo.

From what hath been ſaid, appeareth how raſhly and untruly *Canus* affirmed neceſſary diligence to be never wanting to Councils. *Richerius* therefore having related our Objection and the Anſwer of *Canus*, pronounceth thus. [11] *By this means he ſolves not the difficulty, but rather*

[9] *Nequaquam habent virtutem definitionis*. Hold. Anal. fid. lib. 2. cap. 3.

[10] *Audaciter aſſerimus maximam partem actorum ad fidem non pertinere. — Item rationes quibus Patres in decernendis concluſionibus nituntur*. Duval. Anteloq.

[11] *Sic difficultatem non ſolvit, ſed potiùs involvit atque incruſtat, ut ſæpè ſolet*. Rich. Hiſt. Concil. lib. 1. cap. 9.

rather involveth it, and dawbs it over, as he is wont to do. He promiſeth a better ſolution, and having cited a paſſage of *Peter de Alliaco*, wherein he ſaith, that Infallibility is only a Privilege of the Univerſal Church, that it may be piouſly believed Councils do not err if they be guided by Scripture, otherwiſe they have erred, anſwers, [12] That *in this caſe a moral and probable conjecture, ſuch as wiſe men make uſe of in actions of Life, is ſufficient; and when it is manifeſt that the Council be free, and the Fathers have uſed neceſſary diligence, we muſt acquieſce in their Decrees, unleſs they be clearly repugnant to Faith.* How near to truth doth the good Doctor approach? For firſt, he rejects not the Opinion of the Cardinal; which if admitted, will ſoon put an end to the Controverſie. Secondly, by the laſt clauſe of his Anſwer he confeſſeth that a Council free, and uſing requiſite diligence, may pronounce contrary to the Faith. Otherwiſe the exception would be vain, if the Caſe could never happen. Laſtly, when he flieth to a probable conjecture, he doth thereby plainly acknowledge, that certainty cannot be had; which ſufficeth for me. For if our Adverſaries confeſs they want certainty, I ſhall not envy them their probability.

[12] *Cenſeo hic moralem & probabilem conjecturam, qualem rebus agendis ſapientes impendere conſueverunt, ſufficere; atque ubi conſtat Concilium fuiſſe liberum, & Patres diligentiam adhibuiſſe neceſſariam, planè acquieſcendum eſſe, niſi fortè aperte conſtaret aliquid contra fidem eſſe patratum.* Id. Ibid.

CHAP. XVIII.

That it is uncertain, whether plurality of Suffrages ought to overcome, or whether perfect unanimity be required. That in both Caſes no ſmall Difficulties occurr.

THere remains the laſt part of a Lawful Proceeding, the Concluſion; whereby the Preſident of the Council, when he hath heard the Suffrages of the Fathers, ſolemnly pronounceth Sentence. Concerning this is no ſmall Controverſie, *viz.* Whether the Preſident of the Council, whoſoever he be, ought to give Sentence according to the major part of the Suffrages; or whether a full or abſolute unanimity be neceſſary; and whether the ſame account is to be made of a Decree made by the Votes of all, and by the Votes of the major part. The *Monarchiſts*

narchists distinguish here, and say, that if the Pope himself presideth, and perceives either the major part or all to favour Error, he may deny his assent to them, and give Sentence as himself pleaseth. But if only the Legates preside, and have Instructions what to do; if the major number of Votes be consonant to their Instructions, they may give Sentence without expecting unanimity; if repugnant, they must suspend their assent on both sides, and refer all to the Pope, who may determine it as he pleaseth. However regularly and ordinarily they think plurality of Votes ought to overcome. So *Bellarmin*: [1] *That Decree of a Council is true, which is made by the major part; otherwise no Decree of a Council would be lawful, since some have dissented in all.* And in another place [2] produceth the Example of the Council of *Chalcedon*, which declared Hereticks ten *Ægyptian* Bishops, who would not acquiesce in the Judgment of the major part: And in a third place saith, [3] *There will never be an end of Controversies, unless we give place to the major part of Suffrages.* The same saith *Tho. Bosius* [4], and many others. This Opinion seemeth also to have obtained at *Trent*. For when the Fathers were divided about abolishing Clandestine Marriages, 56 Bishops against the Decree, 133 for it, and both parties obstinate, they agreed to consult the Pope; who gave Sentence for the Decree: and *his Approbation*, saith Card. *Palavicini* [5], *took away all doubt.* Yet this was not always done. For although 30 Bishops, and among them the Legate *Stripandus* privily, opposed the Decree, whereby it was defined that Christ offered up himself in his last Supper; yet the Decree was promulged, and stood in force.

[1] *Est verum decretum Concilii, quod fit à majori parte; aliàqui nullum esset legitimum Concilii decretum, cùm semper aliqui dissentiant.* Bell. de Concil. lib. 2. cap. 11.

[2] *Ibid. lib.* 1. *cap.* 18.

[3] *Nisi detur locus majori parti suffragiorum.* lib. 1. cap. 21.

[4] *Bos. de signis Eccl.* lib. 16. cap. 9.

[5] *Ejus approbatio sustulit omnem dubitationem.* Hist. Concil. Trid.

Far different was the Opinion of *J. Fr. Picus Mirandula* [6], who in Dissensions of a Council, thought *the major part was to be adhered to, cæteris paribus, that is, provided neither were repugnant to Scripture. But if that happened, then that part was to be followed, either major or minor, which had Scripture on its side. For that if the major part would decree any thing against Scripture, the*

[6] *Quia si pars major contra divinas literas decernere quicquam vellet, numero minori adhærendum esset. Quinimò simplici potiùs rustico, & infanti, & aniculæ, quàm & Pontifici & mille Episcopis credendum, si contra Evangelium isti, illi pro Evangelio verba facerent.* Pic. Theor. 16.

the minor were to be adhered to: Tea, a ſimple Ruſtick, an Infant, and an old Woman were to be believed rather than the Pope and 1000 *Biſhops, if theſe ſpoke againſt the Goſpel, thoſe for it.* *Gerſon* 7 had ſaid the ſame thing before him: *If any private perſon without Authority ſhould be excellently learned in the Scriptures, his Aſſertion were to be believed in matters of Faith, before the Declaration of the Pope. And in caſe he were preſent in a General Council, he ought to oppoſe himſelf to it, if he perceived the major part, either through malice or ignorance go contrary to the Scriptures.* But if this Opinion be true, and private Men may judge which part in a Council follows Scripture, which the contrary; then as often as there be diſſenſions in Councils, their Power in defining will not be Supreme, as being ſubject to the examination of all Men. Beſide, if the major part of a Council can manifeſtly and directly vote contrary to Scripture, much more can they do it obſcurely and indirectly, and therefore may be even then miſtaken, when their error is not manifeſt. And if ſo, the Decrees of the major part can in no caſe, not *cæteris paribus*, be ſecurely believ'd.

7 *Si aliquis ſimplex non authoritatus, eſſet excellenter in S. literis eruditus, potius credendum eſſet in caſu doctrinæ ſuæ aſſertioni, quam Papæ declarationi. Et talis eruditus ſi*, &c. Gerſ. de exam. doctrin. Part. 1. Conſid. 5.

For theſe Reaſons perhaps Cardinal *Turrecremata* maintains, 8 That *in a doubtful Controverſie not yet defined, the major part muſt be adhered to.* But neither is this Opinion ſafe. For if we muſt ſtand to the Plurality, ſhall Truth always overcome? Hath Truth that excellent fortune as to pleaſe always the greater part? Let *Canus* be heard: *I deny*, ſaith he, 9 *that in matters of Faith the Judgment of the major part ought to be followed. For we do not here as in Humane Judgments, meaſure the Sentence by the number of Suffrages. We ſee frequently, that the greater overcomes the better part. We know that thoſe things are not always beſt, that pleaſe moſt. We know that in things of Faith the Opinion of wiſe Men is to be preferred. Now Wiſe-men are few, but Fools innumerable. Four hundred Prophets lyed to* Ahab, *while one* Micaiah *ſpoke truth. The greater part of the* 2d. Epheſine *Synod ſided with the wicked* Dioſcorus. *Bannes* 10 his Diſciple hath the like words, and *Salmero* 11 the ſame. And indeed it may eaſily be, that more Heretical than Orthodox Biſhops be preſent in a Council; as well becauſe the greater part of all the Biſhops in the World may be infected with Hereſy, as we ſhall prove hereafter;

8 *In controverſia quæ dubia eſt & nondum definita, arguendum eſt a majore parte.* Tur. de Eccleſ. lib. 3. cap. 65.

9 *Nego cum de fide agitur, ſequi plurimorum judicium oportere*, &c. Can. loc. Theol. lib. 5 cap. 5.

10 Bann. in 2. 2. queſt. 1. art. 10. dub. 4.

11 Salm. tom. 12. tract. 79.

hereafter; as because the Hereticks, even although fewer in number in the whole Church, may, incited by a perverse zeal, flock to the Council in greater numbers than the Catholicks. Now what can we expect from such an Assembly? What, but that every one should pronounce according to his preconceived Opinion, and decree that which he thinks most true?

The fear of this made the Popes, *Leo* and *Vigilius*, desire before the IV. and V. Councils, that an equal number of Western and Eastern Bishops might be present in them. For the like cause *Richerius* [12] complaineth, That in the Council of *Trent* there were more *Italian* Bishops, than of all other Nations together: And this he makes to be the cause of the exorbitant Power of the Pope in all latter Councils, and of introducing *a new and unheard of way of proceeding* into them; the *Italian* Bishops being almost all the Popes Creatures and obnoxious to him. Thus he computes out of the Acts of the Council, that from the beginning to the end of it there were present 187 *Italian* Bishops, but out of other Nations no more than 80. Further, our Adversaries do not deny, that a Council gathered out of one half of the Christian World may totally err; as for example, The Council of *Constantinople* under *Copronymus* consisting of 338 Bishops, who decreed Images were to be abolished. To make this Council Oecumenical there wanted only the presence of two or three Western Bishops. Suppose them present, and opposing the Decree of all the rest. How must the President then have pronounced, if with the major part, an Oecumenical Council would have erred, and the Decree would have been Heretical in the Opinion of our Adversaries?

[12] Rich. Hist. Concil. lib. 14. cap. ult. *Novam & inauditam rationem procedendi.*

Moved with these Reasons, some of our Adversaries, as well Monarchists as Sorbonists, deny, that plurality of Votes ought to overcome in Councils, and account only those Decrees certain, which are established by the unanimous consent of all. This was the Opinion of *Cusanus* [13] which he proveth from the Eighth Synod, and then adds; *See how consent chiefly in those things which are of Faith is required: and by how much the greater this consent is, so much the more infallible is the Decree. Whence, although in Universal Synods many things be necessary, yet most of all is*

[13] *Ecce concordantiam maximè in iis quæ fidei sunt requiri: & quanto major est concordantia, tantò infallibilius judicium.—Unde licèt in Synodis universalibus plura necessaria sint, maximè tamen communis omnium sententia.* Cus. Concord. Cath. Lib. 2. Cap. 4.

is the common consent of all. So *Holden*: [13] *Although it be the Testimony of the major part of a Council, if it be not universal and general, it hath not the perfect certainty of Tradition. Richerius* [14] seemeth to be of the same mind, although he speaks not so plainly. Nor do *Stapleton* [15] or *Duvall* [16] differ from it. But neither doth this Opinion want its inconveniencies. For, first, hereby Councils are in a manner rendred useless. For it cannot easily be imagined, unless some Factious Conspiracy should intervene, that all should think the same thing, especially if they be many. And indeed we have few examples of Councils, wherein the Bishops were unanimous. In that of *Nice* were some *Arians*, at *Sardica* more, at *Ephesus* many *Nestorians*, at *Chalcedon* not a few *Eutychians*; and so of the rest: which according to this Hypothesis must be all expunged out of the number of lawful Councils. Secondly, The Infallibility of Councils will hereby become unuseful; for they could never pronounce Sentence. There would be always two or three Hereticks present in the Council, who to prevent the condemnation of their Heresy, need do no more than speak their Minds, and dissent from the Votes of the rest. Thus the Power of the Universal Church shall be overthrown, and all methods of extinguishing Heresy eluded by the stubbornness of two or three Hereticks. However it be, the Council of *Basil*, which the *Sorbonists* so much extol, thought far otherwise, and particularly the President of it, *Lewis* Cardinal of *Arles*. For when, in treating of defining three Assertions that raised a Council above the Pope, the major part voted the affirmative, although many Fathers, and among them the famous Canonist *Panormitan*, dissented, and even protested against it; yet the President pronounced Sentence in the affirmative, and that Sentence was held valid; as *Æneas Sylvius* [17] largely relates.

Whichsoever Opinion therefore our Adversaries embrace, they involve themselves in inextricable difficulties. But I will not any further urge them. It suffi eth, what none will deny, that it is not certain, whether the major part must take place, or unanimity be required. Both may be defended, and neither is self-evident, nor revealed by God, nor defined by the

[13] *Imò tametsi plurimorum fuerit in Concilio congregatorum testimonium, nisi universum & Catholicum sit, traditionis certitudinem perfectam non habet.* Hold. Anal. fid. lib. 1. cap. 9.

[14] Rich. Apol ax. 22.

[15] Stapl. de princip. lib. 7. cap. 9.

[16] Duval. Anteloq.

[17] Hist. Concil. Basil. lib. 1.

Church; as all acknowledge. If this then be uncertain, it will be alſo uncertain what Decrees of Councils were lawfully concluded, and conſequently what command and deſerve belief.

CHAP. XIX.

That it cannot be known from the ſubſequent Approbation of the Church, which were lawful Councils.

FRom what hath been hitherto ſaid concerning Councils, it is moſt evident both from the Reaſon of Things, and the Principles of our Adverſaries, that the Infallibility of Councils is a meer Phantaſm; that if there were any Infallible Councils, they muſt be ſuch as are *Oecumenical*, free, lawful, and rightly proceeding; that it cannot be yet certainly known, whether all theſe Conditions be ſingly neceſſary, and whether all together ſuffice: That if that were ſtated, it were unknown, what is required to make a Council *Oecumenical*, what Free, and ſo in the reſt; and much more uncertain, which or whether any were ſo; that the lawfulneſs, freedom, right intention, neceſſary diligence, and other conditions of an Infallible Council can never be certainly apply'd to any particular Synod.

Many of theſe things are of that nature, that they cannot be known even by the Biſhops of the Council themſelves. They can tell for example, whether themſelves have a right Intention, and be corrupted with no Intereſt or Paſſion; but to know whether all the reſt be equally ſincere, is wholly impoſſible. They no leſs than others muſt be uncertain what are the Conditions neceſſary to conſtitute an Infallible Council; which neither God hath revealed, the Church defined, nor the conſent of Doctors determined. If theſe things cannot be known by the Fathers of a Council, how ſhall they by the other Biſhops far diſtant in the remote parts of the World? How by every one of the common People, by Mechanicks, Husband-Men, and Women, whoſe Judgment is ſo ſmall, and Notions ſo obſcure? Again, if not of the preſent and later Councils, how of the firſt and ancient ones, which length of time hath involved in darkneſs,

darkneſs, and left to be known only by Conjectures? How ſhall the moſt learned Men be aſſured of the freedom, legality, and all other neceſſary conditions of theſe Councils, perhaps from the teſtimony of one or two Hiſtorians: as if infinite errors of Hiſtorians were not daily found out, proceeding either from ignorance, malice, or partiality.

But both of ancient and later Councils, this is chiefly to be conſidered, That the conditions neceſſary to make them infallible, are of that nature, that one cannot ſupply the defect of another. It ſufficeth not to have ſome of them, nor even all the reſt, if any one be wanting. This Council muſt at the ſame time be Oecumenical, Lawful, Free, and proceed rightly. If any one of theſe Conditions, or any part of them be wanting, all the reſt are of no value, the Council becomes fallible. Whence many Councils, at leaſt Decrees of Councils, have been rejected, that were deficient but in one Condition.

Hence it may be concluded, Firſt, That the *Sorboniſts* have no firm foundation for their Faith, having nothing to oppoſe to ſo many juſt doubts and reaſonable exceptions: For they think not ſufficient the Judgment of the Pope, declaring any Council to have wanted no neceſſary conditions of Infallibility, and reject many, in favour of which he hath ſo declared. They take their Judgment from the ſole conſideration of the Council it ſelf, and what was acted in it. Secondly, That the Sentence of Pope and Council together is no more certain than that of Pope alone; and that thoſe therefore err, who make not the Judgment of either ſeparately, but of both conjunctly to be a firm Foundation for Faith and Certainty. This might be perhaps with ſome colour of Truth defended, if either all Councils agreeing with the Pope, were admitted as infallible; or it were certainly known what are thoſe Councils which conjoin'd to the Pope obtain that privilege. But both are falſe. For all our Adverſaries, which acknowledge not the Infallibility of Pope alone, allow it not alſo to him when united to a Council not Oecumenical, or not lawfully conſtituted, or not rightly proceeding. Now what Councils are Oecumenical, what lawfully conſtituted, and what rightly proceed, we have proved that none can know. Unleſs the Pope therefore hath Infallibility, no certainty can accrue from his Judgment by the addition of any Council. Which is alſo hence confirmed;

that the Sentence, whereby the Pope pronounceth a Council to have been Oecumenical, Lawful, &c. comes from his ſole Authority. For although the Council ſhould pronounce the ſame thing together with him; their Sentence would be of no value, as being pronounced in their own Cauſe. So that the Decree of the Pope alone can not be of any efficacy in this matter; which, if it cannot afford certainty, neither will the Decree of Pope and Council together, at leaſt no more certainty than that of Pope alone.

Turn therefore the Authority of Pope and Council on all ſides, take it ſeparately, conjunctly, divided, united; no certainty, no firmneſs, no foundation for Divine Faith will be ever obtained. One thing only our Adverſaries may pretend, that the Decrees of Councils become then certain, when the Univerſal Church ſhall have received them. I have not indeed, yet met with any who alledge this. But I doubt not that many forced by the precedent Arguments will take refuge there; and will therefore, before I proceed any farther, demonſtrate the vanity and falſeneſs of this pretence.

And firſt, I oppoſe to it, what I before obſerved, That hereby Particular are equalled and put into the ſame condition with General Councils, contrary to the ſence of all Chriſtians, both Ancient and Modern, who conſtantly give the greateſt deference to General Councils. Not to ſay, that ſince hereby firm aſſent cannot be given to a General Council not received by the Church, nor denied to a particular one received by her; it would be fooliſh and abſurd to call a General Council, with infinite trouble and difficulty, when a particular one may Define and Decree with the ſame Authority. Secondly, If the Church reject ſome Councils, admit others, there muſt be ſome reaſon of this different Judgment. This reaſon muſt be taken either from the Condition neceſſary to the Councils Infallibility, as Univerſality, Freedom, and the reſt, or from the matters decreed in the Council, their conformity or repugnance to the rules of Faith. If from the firſt, all the difficulties which we propoſed in the foregoing Chapters, will take place. For whether ſuch a Council were *Oecumenical*, or rightly conſtituted, or did rightly proceed, being all Matters of Fact, the Univerſal Church may err in judging of them: and ſo by her judgment manifeſted in the reception or rejection of the Council, can neither add to,

nor

nor take away any certainty from it. Beſides, I have ſhewn that the conditions of an infallible Council cannot be known even by the Church when they are fulfilled and when not. For if the Biſhops preſent cannot know it, much leſs thoſe divided by great diſtance of place. Can the *Americans* or *Chineſe* know whether no bribes, no ſollicitation of votes, or making of parties was uſed at *Trent*? The exiſtence of ſuch a Council they know only by uncertain rumours. In vain is a certain knowledge hoped for. However it be, to determine a thing of this nature and moment requireth an accurate and diligent inquiſition and examination of all circumſtances. Such an examination neither ever was nor can be made by the Univerſal Church. For that would require a judiciary kind of proceſs, which the Church out of a Council cannot obſerve. For our Adverſaries aſcribe to the Univerſal Church only a paſſive infallibility in believing, not an active in defining. But grant ſhe can judge of this matter. Did ſhe ever do it? Was the Council of Trent thus examined by her? What witneſſes were heard? What inquiſition made, either by all Biſhops or any other? The Acts of it were always kept ſecret, and are to this day held Priſoners in the *Vatican*, far from being ſubmitted to the examination of the Univerſal Church. The Canons are indeed promulged. But if any one ſhould examine them by himſelf, whether to be admitted or rejected, as the *Gallican* Church rejected all thoſe Canons, which concern Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, that reſpects only the matter of the Council, (*viz.*) The Truth or Falſeneſs, Juſtice or Injuſtice of its Decrees, but not the form of it, (*viz.*) The Legality, Right Conſtitution and Proceeding of it; of which only we are now treating. So *Lupus* [1] tells us that the reaſon, why almoſt all the Weſtern Biſhops rejected the V. Council, was, not any defect in the form of it, but their reſpect to the Ancient cuſtom of the Church, of Condemning no man after his Death, that died in Catholick Communion, Honour to the Memory of *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia*, ſo Famous over all the Eaſt, and Reverence to the Canons of *Chalcedon*, whoſe Authority they thought infringed by the Decrees of this Council. So the Ancient *French* and *Engliſh* rejected the Seventh and Eighth Synods, only for the falſeneſs of their Decrees, and defining the Lawfulneſs of Image worſhip, which the others looked upon as Idolatry and contrary to the Faith; becauſe *they had defined*

[1] *In Concil.* Tom. 1. p. 742. 7. 44.

defined otherwise than the Orthodox Doctors had defined before them, saith *Ademarus Cabanensis* [2]: Because they Decreed *many things inconvenient and contrary to the true Faith*, saith *Hoveden* [3]. Lastly, that the Church in admitting Councils respects the matter, not the form of them, may be hence proved; because the Church sometimes approveth the Decrees of unlawful Councils, as of *Antiochia*, which [4] *Baronius* accounts unlawful, because Celebrated, while the Indiction of the Synod of *Rome* was yet depending: and did certainly act unlawfully in Condemning *Athanasius*, and substituting to him *Eusebius* a *Laick*, and when he refused *George* the *Cappadocian*, a man unknown to the Church of *Alexandria*. Yet the Canons of this Synod were afterwards received, as also the Decrees of the V. Council; which *Baronius* and with him not a few think to have proceeded Unlawfully.

[2] *De imaginibus adorandis aliter quàm Orthodoxi Doctores antè definierant, statuerunt.* Adem. apud Marcam de Concord. l. 6. c. 15.

[3] *Multa inconvenientia & veræ fidei contraria.* Hoveden ad ann. 792.

[4] *Ad An.* 341.

There remains then to the Church only the latter way of examining Councils, that is from the Matter of them, by examining the truth and falseness of its Decrees, admitting the one and rejecting the other. This Examination we not only admit, but also pray that it may obtain. But then in it supposeth the fallibility (in the first place) of a Council: otherwise why are her Decrees examined? why not all promiscuously and reverently received? Secondly, hereby not a Council, but the Universal Church will be the Supreme and Ultimate Tribunal, as judging and irrevocably giving Sentence upon the Decrees of the Council, which may be either approved or abrogated by her. Thirdly, hence it will also follow, that the Decrees of a Council must not be assented to, till received by the Church, because not till then certainly known to be true: contrary to the constant practice of our Adversaries, by whom the Decrees are admitted immediatly after Sentence pronounced, at least immediatly after the *Pope's* Confirmation. Fourthly, Councils themselves plainly shew that they are of a contrary Opinion by denouncing Anathema's against the Opposers of their Decrees, or Disbelievers of their Definitions, not staying till the Universal Church shall have approved both, which demonstrateth that they believe a supreme and uncontroulable Authority to reside in themselves: And this very argument is made use of by *Bellarmine* to prove that Councils are Supreme in which the *Pope's Legates* are present. Lastly hence it will follow that the Decrees of a Council ought never to be assented to.

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For the Universal Church is nothing else but the Collection of Christians. If therefore all single Persons expect till the Universal Church receive the Decrees, the Universal Church it self must expect; and so no body shall ever begin to receive and assent to them.

Further, it may be observed, that to make this approbation of the Church of any weight, it were necessary that this Opinion should be generally received, at least not opposed by any Bishop. For then immediatly after the Promulgation of the Decrees, all Bishops would betake themselves to examine them by the Rules of Faith. If after this Examination they received them; then an Approbation of the Universal Church might with some colour be pretended. But now when all, at least almost all, are of a contrary Opinion, and look upon the Decrees, when once confirmed by the Pope, as Infallible; they receive them without any precedent Examination; whereby this Reception becomes of no value, as grounded upon a preconceived Opinion, which we have proved to be false. This may be illustrated by what an Anonymous Author [5] of the *Sorbonists* party saith. He denieth those Subscriptions are to be accounted of; whereby many assent to the Pope's Constitutions when transmitted to them; that they are not to be compared with the Decrees of Councils; because the Bishops act not therein as Judges, nor examine what they subscribe. If this Reason be valid in that case, it will be much more in the confirmation of Councils by the subsequent reception of the Church. For much fewer doubt of the Infallibility of a Council confirmed by the Pope, than of the Infallibility of the Pope alone. He subjoineth another Reason of the Invalidity of these Subscriptions; because they are commonly extorted by threats and fear of being deposed from their Bishopricks, if they should Dissent. But hath not this happened in urging the Reception of a Council. Certainly *Baronius* [6] largly relateth how the Emperour *Justinian* deprived and Banished those Bishops, who would not admit the Decrees of the Fifth Council, and condemn the *Tria Capitula*.

[5] *Les desseins des Jesuites representés a l'assemblée du Clergé.* p. 43.

[6] *Siquidem illi qui damnationem trium Capitulorum non reciperent, Imperatoris jussu in exilium agebantur.* Bar. ad an. 553.

Lastly, it is certain there are very few Councils, if any, to which all Christians, and consequently the Universal Church subscribed. This was shewed before and might be further proved. Whence among many other things these two may be concluded: First, that all Christians never thought the Approbation of the Universal

Univerſal Church to be the only Rule of admitting or rejecting Councils; ſince there is none, which although rejected by the reſt, many did not receive. Secondly that the Unanimous approbation of the whole Church is no ſufficient and ready means to diſcern thoſe Councils to which Obedience is due. For how ſhould it be ſuch, when it is very rarely to be had? Now if this means be not ſufficient; either ſome other muſt be pointed out, which joined or ſubſtituted to it may afford this ſo neceſſary knowledge to the Faithful; or it muſt be acknowledged, that it is often unknown to which Councils aſſent is due. But it ſeemeth incredible to me that God ſhould give to Councils ſo great and ſo admirable a privilege, as is abſolute Infallibility, and this to extinguiſh Hereſies, compoſe Controverſies, and direct the Faithful in the way of truth; and all this while ſhould give no certain or eaſy Sign, whereby Infallible Councils, from which alone we were to receive ſo great happineſs, might be deſtinguiſhed from deluding Conventicles. For this were to violate his own precept, and hide the brighteſt candle in the Church under a buſhel. Yet hath he given none. At leaſt this approbation of the Church, of which alone we now diſpute cannot be here alledged; ſince our Adverſaries have many Councils to which they pretend obedience due, that were not thus approved by the whole Church.

CHAP. XX.

That it cannot be learned from the conſent of Doctors what is to be beleived. I. *Becauſe it doth not appear who thoſe Doctors are,* II. *becauſe thoſe Doctors, whoſoever they are, do not always agree.*

DRiven from Pope and Council, our Adverſaries fly to the Faith of the Univerſal Church. Whether herein they have ſure refuge, is next to be enquired. The Faith of the Univerſal Church may be taken two ways, either as it is taught by

by the Paſtours, or as it is believed, by all the Faithful, both Clergy and Laity. Either way taken our Adverſaries contend it is a certain Rule of Faith to all private Chriſtians; for that nothing falſe can either be taught by a common conſent of all the Paſtors, or be believed by all the Faithful. But ſince it is one and the ſame Faith, which is taught by the Paſtors and believed by the Faithful, it might ſuffice to conſider either of them only, and thence demonſtrate that neither can be a Rule of Faith. Yet that our adverſaries may not complain any thing is omitted: I will treat ſeparately of each; and firſt that Faith cannot be founded upon the common conſent of Doctors.

This may be evinced many ways. Firſt, becauſe it doth not appear, who are thoſe Doctors whoſe conſent is required. The whole foundation of this is thought to be a place of St. *Paul*, [1] where he aſſerts that *Chriſt gave ſome Apoſtles, and ſome Prophets, and ſome Evangeliſts, and ſome Paſtors and teachers* (Doctors) *for the edifying of the Body of Chriſt*, &c. But who theſe Paſtors and Doctors are, is uncertain. It is enquired, firſt, whether the ſame be Paſtors that are Doctors. St. *Hierom*, St. *Auguſtin*, *Iſidorus Clarius*, *Ben. Juſtinianus*, and *Lud. Cellotius* thought them the ſame; *Hilarius Diaconus*, *Eſtius*, and *Corn. à Lapide*, different. Next who are deſigned by the word Paſtors. Many underſtand thereby Biſhops, and thoſe only; *Cellotius* [2] Parſons only, and cites *Theodoret* for his opinion. *Eſtius* [3] underſtands both, who alſo cites *Theophylact*. Now theſe queſtions are of great moment. For if Paſtors be the ſame with Doctors, and by both names Biſhops only be deſigned; they only muſt be attended. But if the Apoſtle underſtands Parſons too, it is not enough to know what Biſhops teach: we muſt alſo enquire what Parſons teach. Again, if Profeſſors of Divinity, and Preachers be to be added; we muſt further ſearch out their Doctrine. For if God annexed this privilege of infallibility to the four Orders of Biſhops, Pariſh-Prieſts, Profeſſours, and Preachers taken all together; we muſt not ſo follow one Order, as to neglect the other. For upon that ſuppoſition any one, nay any three of them may err, and truth remain only with the fourth. However it be, it is manifeſt that both ancients and modern differ in this point; and that therefore nothing certain can be had therein, much leſs what is of Faith; which yet is neceſſary to aſſure us that we have an infallible Rule of Faith in the Governours of the Church.

[1] *Epheſ.* IV.

[2] *Recte igitur Theodoretus Paſtores & Doctores eos dicit, qui in civitate & in pago erant deputati & ſegregati. Cell. de Hier. l. 8. c. 6.*

[3] *Dixi præcipuè ſignificari Epiſcopos nomine Paſtorum: nam generaliter huc etiam Parochi pertinent. Eſt. in loc.*

But neither would that ſuffice, if it were of Faith. Somewhat elſe would be yet neceſſary, *viz.* to know certainly whether to give aſſent to the Doctrine of theſe Paſtors and Doctors, whoſoever they be, it be required that all ſhould conſent in their Doctrine, every one of them, which they call All *Mathematically*; or whether the conſent of All *Morally*, that is, almoſt all, will ſuffice: again, who they are exactly that may be called All Morally, and how great a part of the whole may diſſent without prejudicing the infallibility of the reſt, whether the third, or the fourth, or the tenth, or the hundredth, *&c.* Who ſhall define this? If All Mathematically muſt conſent, God would have appointed a Rule, which never exiſted: For ſo abſolute a conſent never was among the Governours of the Church. But he which ſhall ſay, it ſufficeth that almoſt all conſent, ought not only to affirm, but alſo to prove what he ſays. But how ſhall ſo obſcure a thing be proved? Or what certainty can be had in it? Yet grant it can be had; it is ſtill to be defined, when almoſt all can be ſaid to have conſented; for that hath a certain Latitude, wherein ſome Men will think that number to be included, which others hold excluded.

But not to ſeem too ſcrupulous, let our Adverſaries define this as they pleaſe, and almoſt all be accounted to have conſented, when only a tenth, twelfth, or twentieth part ſhall diſſent. Let all this be as certain, as it is indeed doubtful and uncertain. I ask, whether that conſent, which it ſhall have pleaſed our Adverſaries to define neceſſary, is always to be had? If any one think ſo, he muſt be a ſtranger to all Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; and never have heard of the prevailing Hereſies of *Arius*, *Neſtorius*, and *Eutyches*, not to mention others. But you will ſay, they were Hereticks, whereas we require only the conſent of Catholicks. Right; but it did not ſenſibly appear they were Hereticks; rather that was then the Queſtion, Who were Hereticks, and who Orthodox. For the *Arians*, *Neſtorians*, and *Eutychians* took to themſelves the name of Catholicks, and branded the reſt with the imputation of Hereſie. Now if this Queſtion, which was certainly a matter of Faith, was to be determined only from the conſent of Doctors, it could never have been determined to the worlds end; ſince that conſent was never to be found. But to deal liberally with our Adverſaries, have not thoſe often diſſented, whom themſelves acknowledge Catholick?

lick? In the ſecond and third Age the *Aſiaticks* diſſented from the *Europeans* about the celebration of *Eaſter*. In the third Age, all the *Africans*, and many of the *Aſiaticks*, from the reſt, about the re-baptization of Hereticks. In the fourth Age, the followers of *Theophilus*, *Epiphanius*, and St. *Hierom*, from the favourers of *Origen* about his Condemnation. In the fifth Age, the *Greek* from the *Latin* Church, upon account of the Quarrels between the *Roman* and *Conſtantinopolitan* Sees. In the ſixth Age, the *Africans*, *Dalmatians*, and *Italians*, from the *Greeks* and *Romans*, concerning the Condemnation of the *Tria Capitula*. In the eight and ninth Ages, the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Germans*, from the *Greeks*, and many of the *Italians*, about Image-worſhip. The *Eaſtern* hath diſſented from the *Weſtern* Church now for many Ages about ſome points of Faith and Diſcipline. The *Weſtern* Church hath been divided for theſe three laſt Ages about the Power of Pope and Council. And all theſe Diſſenſions proceeded even to breaking of Communion, and pronouncing *Anathema's* againſt one another, except the laſt, which alſo did no leſs in the fifteenth Age.

Now as often as this happens, to which part can the Faithful ſecurely adhere? Think not that the moſt are then to be followed; for beſides that there are not always more Patrons of Truth than Error; and that *Canus* [4] and *Bannes* [5] expreſly deny it: It is impoſſible to number Suffrages, and know which Party is moſt numerous. They might be numbred perhaps, if the Church were included in one Province. But now that it is diffuſed throughout the whole World, no mean is left of knowing what is the Opinion either of all or moſt. Our Adverſaries, I ſuppoſe, will ſay, that when the Governours of the Church diſſent about any matter of Faith, the Faithful muſt ſuſpend their aſſent, while the Controverſie endureth, and content themſelves by an implicit Faith to believe in it what the Church believeth, not enquiring in the mean while what the Church believeth, but leaving that to be enquired by the Church her ſelf.

[4] *Nego, cùm de fide agitur, ſequi plurimorum judicium oportere.* Can. loc. Theol. l. 5. c. 5.

[5] *Non negamus, quin multi, immò plures Sacerdotes & Paſtores poſſint errare.* Bann. In 2. 2. qu. 1. art. 10. dub. 3.

To this I anſwer, Firſt, that this grants us all we deſire. For we diſpute here only of explicite Faith, maintaining that our Adverſaries have no certain Foundation for that. If they flee to Implicite, they thereby forſake explicite Faith. Secondly, almoſt all our Adverſaries confeſs that there are ſome Articles, which even the moſt ignorant Chriſtians are bound to

believe with explicite Faith: and *Connink*[6] aſſerts the contrary Opinion of ſome Canoniſts to be held erroneous and even heretical by the other Doctors. Further, all conſent there are ſome points of Faith neceſſary to be believed by all with explicite Faith, not only becauſe commanded to be ſo; but becauſe the explicite belief of them is alſo the means, without which Salvation cannot be obtained. Wherefore *Hoſius*[7], in relating the known ſtory of the Collier, ſaith, he did not make that Anſwer, of believing as the Church believeth, before he had entirely repeated the Apoſtles Creed, and profeſſed his adherence to it. Now ſuppoſe the Biſhops differ about ſome Article neceſſary to be believed with explicite Faith, as happened in the times of *Arianiſm*. Certainly the Faithful cannot at that time ſuſpend their aſſent, if they do not together ſuſpend their hopes of Salvation. But not to inſiſt upon that Example, ſuppoſe a Controverſie raiſed about doing ſomewhat, which God in the Scripture expreſly commands to be done, ſuch as we contend to be Communion under both kinds, reading of the Scripture, *&c.* What is then to be done? Muſt all action be ſuſpended? This were to deny obedience to God. We muſt therefore chuſe one part, and ſo reject the pretence of implicite Faith. Again, implicite Faith is thus expreſſed, *I believe what the Church believeth.* It therefore ſuppoſeth the Faith of the Church. Of what kind? not implicite ſurely. For that would be abſurd in the higheſt degree. Certainly then the Church could not juſtly be accounted the Keeper of Tradition, which is nothing elſe in our Adverſaries ſence, but that Doctrine which Chriſt delivered to his Apoſtles, they to their Succeſſors, until it was derived down to us. If this be true, the Church of every Age muſt of neceſſity diſtinctly and explicitly know that Doctrine. Otherwiſe it cannot faithfully and accurately deliver it to the ſucceeding Church. Then how ſhall this Faith of the Church her ſelf be expreſſed? It can be by no other Form than this, *I believe what I believe*; than which nothing can be more abſurd. But I need not refute a Folly which our Adverſaries do not eſpouſe, as appears from the words of *Duvall*[8]: *Although ſome things were in proceſs of time defined by the Church, which were before doubted of without the*

[6] *De attib. ſup. diſp. 4. dub. 9.*

[7] *Hſ. contra Prot. Brent. lib 3.*

[8] *Quamvis aliqua ſucceſſu temporis fuerint in Eccleſiâ definita, de quibus antea citra hæreſin dubitabatur, certum tamen eſt illa fuiſſe ſemper à nonnullis prædicata & declarata. Quòd autem ab aliis non crederentur, iſtud tantùm vel ex oblivione vel ex ignorantiâ Scripturæ aut traditionis proveniebat.* Duval. in 2.2. p. 111.

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Crime of Hereſie, yet it is certain they were always preached and declared by ſome. But that they were not believed by others, aroſe either from the forgetfulneſs, or from the ignorance of Scripture or Tradition.

Is it therefore this explicite Faith of the Church, which ſerveth as a Foundation to implicite Faith? So it ought to be, and ſo I doubt not but our Adverſaries will ſay it is. But in this caſe, wherein the Governours of the Church diſſent about an Article of Faith, it cannot be. For that which the Church explicitly believes, is no definite Opinion, but a meer Contradiction repugnant to it ſelf, and deſtroying it ſelf. For one part of the Church believeth the Opinion, whereof the Controverſie is raiſed, to be true, wholſom, and revealed by God; the other part believes it falſe, pernicious, and ſuggeſted by Men. Now, to have the belief of the whole Church, you muſt joyn both parts of the Contradiction together: and ſo the Church believeth that Opinion to be true and falſe, wholſom and pernicious, revealed by God, and ſuggeſted by Men. But this is not Faith, but a deformed Monſter, conſiſting of contrary and repugnant parts.

CHAP. XXI.

That the conſent of Doctors, even when it can be had, is more difficult to be known, than that we can by the help of it attain to the knowledge of the Truth.

TO what we obſerved in the precedent Chapter our Adverſaries may perhaps anſwer, That when the Governours of the Church differ about a matter to be believed, then indeed the Faith of private Chriſtians cannot rely upon their Authority; but that this diſſent is not perpetual, that they oftentimes conſent in delivering the Doctrine of the Church, and then at leaſt may be ſecurely believed in what they teach. To this I reply, Firſt, that hereby they muſt grant they have no certain and fixed Rule of Faith for many great and weighty points of Religion, contrary to their continual boaſts of the abundance of

of Rules, whereby God hath provided for all the neceſſities of his Church. Secondly, the Governours of the Church have now for many Ages differed about ſome matters, upon which, according to our Adverſaries, depend the hopes of eternal Salvation. For Example, whether the true Church is to be found among the *Greeks* or among the *Latins*? For of the five Patriarchates of the Church, four are divided from the Church of *Rome*, and accuſe her of Hereſie and Schiſm, both which Accuſations ſhe retorts upon them. Now, this is a matter of great moment, which may be juſtly doubted of, and can never be determined by the conſent of Doctors.

But to omit that, this conſent, if it could be had, is not ſo manifeſt and obvious, as a Rule of Faith ought neceſſarily to be; which by the confeſſion of all muſt be clear, evident, and eaſie to be applied. This *Duvall*[1] aſſigns for *an eſſential condition of a Rule of Faith*, and acknowledgeth, that *if a Rule obſcurely propoſeth the Myſteries of Faith, it would thereby become no Rule.* And for this reaſon our Adverſaries ſo much exaggerate the obſcurity of Scripture, that they may thereby ſhew it could not be given by God for a Rule of Faith. To which end, *Gr. à Valentia*[2] layeth down this Axiom, which he afterwards applyeth to the Scripture. *The Sentence of that Authority which is to judge of all matters of Faith, ought to be manifeſt, that it may be eaſily underſtood by all the Faithful. For if that Authority doth not teach perſpicuouſly and plainly, it will be of no uſe to that end.* So he, and with him many others. If therefore I ſhall ſhew, that the conſent of Paſtors about matters of belief is ſo obſcure and difficult to be known, that even the moſt learned, much more illiterate men cannot avoid Error in ſearching it out; I ſhall thereby prove, that it could not be given to us by God as a common Rule of things to be believed.

[1] *Secunda conditio, eaque pariter eſſentialis, eſt perſpicuitas. Nam ſi haec regula obſcurè fidei myſteria proponeret, regula fidei non foret.* Duvall in 2. 2. p. 207.

[2] *Sententiam ejus authoritatis, cujus de rebus omnibus fidei judicium eſt, apertam oportet eſſe, ut ab omnibus fidelibus commodè poſſit intelligi. Nam ſi non ita perſpicuè & planè authoritas illa doceat, non ad eam rem valebit.* Val. tom. 3. diſp. 1. qu. 1. punct. 7. §. 4.

This obſcurity and difficulty ariſeth from three Cauſes. The firſt is the amplitude of the Church diffuſed throughout the whole World; which permits not the Faith of all Paſtors to be known, unleſs we travel through all thoſe Regions, wherein they are diſperſed. For it ſufficeth not to conſult a few. They may be miſtaken. The Opinion of all muſt be asked, the conſent

ſent of all appear. But how ſhall they be all ſingly conſulted? Who ever learned the Chriſtian Faith this way? Yet this way Card. *Richlieu* [3] points out to us. He ſaith, the uniformity of the Church is manifeſt to ſenſe; that all parts of the Church may be ſurveyed by one man at divers times, or by divers men at one time. True; but to reduce this to practice, every ſingle man muſt take ſo many Journeys, ſend out ſo many Intelligencers; that this Method cannot be perſwaded but in jeaſt. *Valentia* [4] the Jeſuit is more ingenuous, who confeſſeth, that *it can rarely happen that it may be ſufficiently known what is the Opinion in Religion of all Doctors living at the ſame time.* And this he underſtands in reſpect of the Pope himſelf, as appears from what follows theſe words. If then the conſent of Doctors can rarely be known by the Pope, who hath his Nuncio's and Emiſſaries in all places, how ſhall it ever be known by private Men? *Tanner* [5] ſaith the ſame thing, as he is cited by *Martinonus*. *If it were neceſſary*, ſaith he, *that all private men ſhould know evidently what is believed in the whole Church, how many years muſt be ſpent in acquiring that Evidence, which even learned men have not always?* And *Martinonus* [6] ſaith, *The Pope may be certainly and eaſily conſulted, not ſo the whole Church, no, not all her Paſtors only.*

[3] *Method. liv. 1. chap. 14.*

[4] *Fatendum eſt raro accidere poſſe, ut quæ ſit doctorum omnium uno tempore viventium de religione ſententia ſatis cognoſcatur.* Va. ubi ſupr. §. 46.

[5] *Si opus eſſet, ut plebeii ſcirent evidenter in totâ Eccleſiâ ſic credi; quot anni laberentur, dum iſtam evidentiam acquirerent, quam neque periti ſemper habent?* Tann. apud Mart. de fide diſp. 3. Sect. 4.

[6] *Certò & facilè poteſt conſuli Pontifex, non ſic tota Eccleſia, ne quidem omnes illius Paſtores.* Mart. de fide diſp. 9. Sect. 9.

This may be proved by many Examples, of which I will produce ſome few. *Bellarmine* [7] and *Valentia* [8] aſſert, that all Divines agree concerning the puniſhment of Infants dying without Baptiſm, and think it only *pœna damni* undergone in that which they call the *Limbus puerorum*. Yet is this Opinion falſly by them aſcribed to all, even Modern Divines (for among the Ancients St. *Fulgentius* is known to have taught the contrary.) *Florentius Conrius*, Titular Arch-biſhop of *Tuam*, publiſhed a Book, wherein he endeavoured to prove the contrary, approved by fourteen Doctors of Divinity; whereof one *Fr. Sylvius* teſtifieth *Conrius* his Opinion is the common Doctrine of the School of *Doway*: Another, *James Pollet*, profeſſeth, that for thirty years, wherein he had been converſant in the Divinity Schools, he had never heard any other Opinion taught by the Profeſſors, than that unbaptized Infants are condemned to the eternal Torments of Hell. A third,

[7] Bell. de amiſſ. Stat. lib. 5. c. 6.

[8] Val. tom. 4. diſp. 11. qu. 1. punct. 1. §. 3. *omnes Theologi, univerſa Theologorum Schola.*

[9] *Quam S. Auguſtini ſententiam veriſſimam ſemper judicavi, defendi & docui tanquam antiquioribus Eccleſiæ doctoribus conformem, & ſemper hucuſque ab excellentiſſimis quibuſdam edoctam, utpote Scripturis magis innixam & Concilijs.*

third, *H. Rampen* [9], Profeſſor of *Doway*, ſaith, That *he had always judged that Opinion, being St.* Auguſtine's, *to be trueſt, defended and taught it as more conſonant to the ancient Doctors, and always even to this day taught by ſome moſt excellent Perſons, being founded upon Scripture and Councils.*

Of Indulgences our Adverſaries teach chiefly three things. I. That there is a Treaſure of the Satisfaction of Chriſt and the Saints, which may be applied to perſons liable to ſuffer the puniſhment of their ſins, after the guilt of them is remitted in the Sacrament of Penance; and that this Treaſure is actually applied by Indulgences granted by the Pope. II. That the Souls in Purgatory may be helped by theſe Indulgences. III. That by them is remitted not only the puniſhment enjoyned in Penance, and decreed by the Canons of the Church, but alſo that which is due at the Tribunal of God. Theſe three things *Bellarmin* and *Valentia* affirm to be taught by all Divines. Although the firſt, *Bellarmin* confeſſeth, was doubted of by *Mairo* and *Durandus*, who thought the Satisfaction of Saints have no part in that Treaſure; but the contrary, ſaith he [10], *is the common Opinion of the other Divines, as well Ancient, as of all the Modern*, and was confirmed by a Decree of *Clement* VI. The Second he acknowledgeth was denied by *Hoſtienſis* and *Gabriel*; but ſaith, the latter corrected his Error, and that *it is a thing moſt certain, and undoubted among Catholicks.* So *Valentia* [11] ſaith, it is the aſſertion of all the Orthodox. As for the Third, *Valentia* affirms the contrary Opinion is exploded as erroneous by all the Orthodox. Who could imagine after all this, there were any doubt concerning theſe points among them? Yet *Holden* [12] teacheth that this only is certain and undoubted, that the Governours of the Church can and ought ſometimes to indulge ſomething, and mitigate the ſeverity of the Canons in each Tribunal. *All the reſt are doubtful, and diſputed of by Divines on both parts, to wit, whether there be a Treaſure, of which the Pope and other Paſtors of the Church are diſpenſers*, &c. where he largely ſhews that all theſe Propoſitions are many ways doubted of, and wholly uncertain among Divines.

[10] *Communis aliorum Theologorum tum antiquorum tum recentiorum omnium ſententia.* Bell. de Indulg. lib. 1. cap. 2.

Res certiſſima, & apud Catholicos indubitata.

[11] *Val. tom. 4. diſp. 7. qu. 20. punct. 5.*

[12] *Cætera omnia dubia ſunt, & a Theologis in utramque partem agitata.* Hold. Anal. fid. lib. 2. cap. 6.

If

If it be enquired, whether the Church can put Hereticks to death? *Valentia* [13] anſwers, That *'tis not only certain, but of Faith, that the Church can lawfully and conveniently do it. Holden* [14] on the contrary maintains, That *to inflict death upon convicted, relapſed, or even the moſt obſtinate Hereticks, was never an Opinion of the Chriſtian Religion and the Univerſal Church. Neither do all, even the moſt Pious and Learned Catholicks, approve the uſe and methods of the Inquiſition.* The like ſaith *Richerius* [15]. If again it be enquired, whether the corruption of humane nature, introduced by ſin, conſiſts only in the loſs of ſupernatural Graces, or alſo includes ſomewhat poſitive, whereby the Soul is vitiated? *Rhodius* [16] anſwers in the firſt ſence, and affirms, That *all the Orthodox Divines ſo teach againſt all the Sectaries.* Bellarmin [17]: That *it is taught by the common conſent of all.* Yet *Vaſquez* [18] attributes the contrary Opinion to many Divines of great name, as *Holcot, Greg. Ariminenſis, Gabriel, Henricus, Gulielmus Pariſienſis, Autiſſiodorenſis, Driedo.*

[13] *Ex fide certum eſt Eccleſiam licitè & convenienter id facere poſſe.* Val. tom. 3. diſp. 1. qu. 11. punct. 3.

[14] *Nunquam fuit religionis Chriſtianæ & Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ dogma Catholicum. Nec omnes etiam piiſſimi & doctiſſimi Catholici inquiſitionis uſum & rationem approbant.* Hold Anal. fid. l. 1. c. 9.

[15] *Rich. Hiſt. Concil. l. 1. c. 10.*

[16] *Ita contra ſectarios omnes docent Orthodoxi omnes Theologi.* Rhod. de pecc. diſ. 4. qu. 2. Sect. 3.

[17] *Omnes communi conſenſu docent.* Bell. de grat. primi hom. cap. 5. [18] *Vaſq. 1. 2. diſp. 132. cap. 4. & 5.*

It is a Famous Queſtion, whether the Pope, beſides the Spiritual Power, commonly attributed to him, hath a power over Temporals, either direct or indirect, whereby he depoſes Princes for Hereſie, or any other Crime, and abſolve their Subjects from their Allegiance. There are three Opinions about this. The firſt is, that the Pope hath, *jure divino*, a direct and abſolute Power over the whole World, as well in Temporals, as in Spirituals. The Second, that the Pope, as Pope, hath no Temporal Power, nor any Authority to deprive Princes. The Third, that the Pope, as Pope, hath not directly any Temporal, but only Spiritual Power; yet that by means of that Spiritual, he hath indirectly a Supream Power even in Temporals. *Bellarmin* [19], who relateth theſe three Opinions in theſe very words, attributes the firſt to many of the Canoniſts: the third he makes the common Opinion of Catholick Divines: The ſecond he ſaith is not ſo much an Opinion as an Hereſie, and therefore he aſcribes it only to *Calvin, P. Martyr, Brentius*, and the *Magdeburgenſes*: And in another place, under the feigned

[19] *Bell. de Pont. lib. 5. cap. 1.*

name of *Adolphus Schulkenius*, he teacheth the same thing, where he enveigheth [20] against *Widdrington* (a defender of the second Opinion) as *opposing the H. Scriptures, the Doctrine of Councils and Popes, and the unanimous consent of Fathers and Doctors, who all with one Mouth teach the Pope's Supreme Power in Temporals; and thereby ranking himself with Heretics and Schismatics, while he pretends to be a Catholick.* Thus *Bellarmin.* Now on the other side, *De Marca* and *Launoy* contend this Opinion was always unknown in *France.* The whole *Sorbon* in the Exposition of their Judgment published in the Year 1663 testify, That not only they never received this Opinion, but always resisted it with their utmost power. Not to say, that the Kings of *France*, and Parliaments of *Paris* by their Edicts and Arrests often condemned it, and forbid it to be held or taught, particularly in the Years 1561, 1594, 1595, 1610, 1614, *&c.*

[20] *Contra S. literas doctrinam conciliorum & summorum pont. unanimem consensum patrum & doctorum haereticis schismaticisque se jungit.* Apud Widd. contra Schulk. §. 15.

I might produce many more examples; but these suffice to shew, That the greatest Doctors mistake in imagining some Opinions to be approved by all the Divines of their Communion, which yet are freely disputed of on both sides. And if this happens to Doctors, who employ their whole time in matters of learning, what shall we think of poor and illiterate Men, who know little beyond the providing for the necessities of this life? Again, If the Judgment of only those Doctors, who commit their Opinions to Writing, and are very few in comparison of the rest, is not certainly known; how shall we know the Judgment of those who teach their Flocks *vivâ voce*? Lastly, If their Opinion be true who would have the Judgment not only of Bishops, but also of Parsons, Professors of Divinity, and Preachers to be accounted of? what hope is there, that the Opinion of so many Men should ever be known to any one Man, or to any but God alone?

The second Reason of the difficulty of knowing the common consent of other Doctors, is, the obscure Knowledge which is in the Church, of some points, concerning which no Disputation hath been yet raised. For nothing is more true, than that Opinions are illustrated by Controversies. So St. *Augustin* [21] saith, *Many things pertaining to*

[21] *Multa ad fidem Catholicam pertinentia dum haereticorum callidâ inquietudine agitantur, ut adversum eos defendi possint, & considerantur diligentius, & intelliguntur, clarius & instantius praedicantur, & ab adversario mota quaestio exstitit discendi occasio.* Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, lib. 16. chap. 20.

Catholick

Catholick Faith, while they are disputed of by the cunning perverseness of Heretick's, that they be defended against them, are considered more diligently, understood more clearly, and preached more earnestly; the Question moved by the Adversary becoming an occasion of learning. This he proves in another place [22] by the Doctrines of the Trinity, Penance and Baptism, not fully handled before the Controversies started in them by the *Arians*, *Novatians*, and *Rebaptizers*: And therefore *Valentia* [23] affirms, *It belongs to the Church, as necessity shall require, to deliver anew to the Faithful more explicitly, and by an Infallible Authority, as it were draw out of darkness those truth of Faith, which were indeed at first delivered by the Apostles; but now either by the negligence or perversity of Men lay hid. And perhaps,* saith he, *some do yet lay hid in the Church.* An eminent example of this appeared in the Council of *Trent*; when they were seeking out an efficacious remedy against the inconveniencies of clandestine Marriages. Some advised the declaring them void for the future; and these were the major number. Fifty Bishops, and among them the Patriarch of *Hierusalem*, and two of the Legates, Card. *Hosius* and *Simonetta*, opposed it, saying, *That was not in the power of the Council.* *Morone* the Legate, and many others suspended their Votes. The Disputations grew high; at last they agreed to referr all to the Pope. He answered, the Council had Power to make such a Decree, and that it ought to be made. Hereupon clandestine Marriages were declared void; and an *Anathema* added to the Decree against all those who should thenceforth deny the Church hath power to make Constitutions of that nature. See a Power residing in the Church now become an Article of Faith, which was vehemently impugned by a Patriarch, two Legates, fifty Bishops, and doubted of by many others. And shall those now be heard, who maintain there is always in the Church a clear and distinct knowledge of all things revealed?

[22] *In* Psalm 34.

[23] Val. tom. 3. disp. 1. quæst. 1. punct. 6. *Et fortasse latent adhuc in Ecclesia aliqua.*

We proceed to the third Reason, which consisteth in this, That some Opinions are often divulged in the Church as revealed by God, and approved by the Church, and are everywhere taught, which at last are found out and known to be false. Monsieur *Pajon* [24] produceth three eminent Examples of this Observation; the first taken from the decisions of the Canonists, the second from the form of Condemnation of the V.

[24] Rép. aux prejugés part. 2. chap. 2.

Janſenian Propoſitions; the third from the Prohibition of reading the Bible; which becauſe he largely and accurately purſueth, I will not here urge; much leſs will add other Examples before pointed out in this Chapter. However, from what hath been ſaid, it appears, that it is obſcure and difficult to be known wherein the Doctors conſent. This will be more manifeſt, if we conſider, that it is far more difficult to know certainly what all the preſent Doctors teach, than what the former Doctors taught. For the Opinions of theſe we have in their Books, which we can read at home; but to know the Judgment of the others we muſt travel through the whole World. *Valentia* ſuppoſeth this very thing, where he giveth the reaſon why the Pope in defining rather maketh uſe of dead than living Doctors: *Becauſe*, ſaith he, [25] *the Opinion of theſe latter can very rarely be ſufficiently known. For being diſperſed through the whole Church, they cannot all eaſily be either aſſembled, or asked what they think; whereas the ancient Doctors are more famous, and are not ſo many.* If this be true, how difficult muſt it be to know the Judgment of the preſent Church; ſince the moſt learned Men can very hardly obtain the Sence of the Ancient Church? Few or none can ſearch all the Monuments of Antiquity, pry into the moſt ſecret Receſſes of it, and turn over the Writings of ſixteen Ages; and in all this long Journey make no ſlips, commit no errors: Yet is all this eaſier in the Judgment of *Valentia*, than to enquire and find out the Opinion of the Doctors living at any one time; which yet muſt be done by them, who lay the Foundation of their Faith upon their conſent.

[25] *Qui proinde omnes nec facilè congregari nec interrogari poſſunt quid ſentiant.* Val. Tom. diſp. 1. quæſt. 1. punct. 7. § 46.

I have not yet ſeen any of our Adverſaries, who offereth the leaſt ſolution of any one of theſe difficulties, except Cardinal *Richlieu*; who when he had objected to himſelf, That blind Men hear neither all Preachers and Doctors, nor learn from thoſe, which they do hear, what the others teach, which is our very Argument, except that what he ſaith only of Blind-men, we juſtly apply to all Men; he anſwers, [26] That *as for a Philoſopher to conclude all Fires to be hot, it is not neceſſary that he experiments all the Fires in the World, the common conſent of Philoſophers ſufficing: ſo to know certainly, whether any Doctrine be the Doctrine of the Church it abundantly ſufficeth, that Blind-men hear it propoſed by divers Doctors of the Church, and that it cannot be ſhown there are others who teach the contrary.*

[26] Method. liv. 2. chap. 8.

But

But many things may be here obſerved. Firſt, Thoſe things do not always ſuffice in matter of Faith, with which we are contented in diſputing. There we often argue from Conceſſions, which we own to be falſe: Here nothing is to be produced but what is true and certain. Wherefore if no body oppoſe thoſe Doctrines which ſeem true to us, it doth not follow that we ought to admit them, unleſs they be both certain of themſelves, and appear ſo to us: And if no body points out to us any maintainers of the contrary Doctrine, it doth not therefore follow, that there are none; whence the Doctrine propos'd, obtains not thence any certainty, any motive of Faith. Secondly, Philoſophers themſelves admoniſh, great diligence is to be uſed in making Arguments of *Induction*, ſuch as this is; and that an inſufficient enumeration of particulars is the great fountain of Errors; while a few, or even many, are reckoned up, and thence a concluſion made of all. Wherefore he reaſons not well, who argues thus, *Such and ſuch teach thus; nor doth any appear who oppoſeth, Therefore all teach the ſame.* For it may eaſily be that many may teach otherwiſe, unknown to him who reaſons thus, but well known to others.

In the next place, it were to be deſired the Cardinal had explained his mind more clearly, and told by whom he means it cannot be ſhewn that other teach the contrary; whether by the blind Man himſelf, or by other blind or ignorant Men like himſelf, or by one Learned Man whom he ſhould conſult, or by all Learned men every where diſperſed. If he means the firſt or ſecond, then he greatly errs in thinking it ſufficient that the blind Man or other ignorant Perſons of his acquaintance cannot name any, who teach a contrary Doctrine to their Pariſh-Prieſt or thoſe Doctors whom they hear. For all the Husbandmen, Labourers, and Mechanicks of the Pariſh may be eaſily ignorant, that a contrary Doctrine, and that more true, is taught in *America* or *India* or even the next Province; and ſo the blind Man ſhall be obliged to believe a falſity. But if the Cardinal means it ſuffice, that the blind Man conſult ſome learned Man to know, whether none teacheth contrary to his Parſon; I would ask, whether our Adverſary requireth it as neceſſary? If ſo, then all the common ſort of the Faithful are guilty of raſhneſs and imprudence. For I dare ſwear that none of them ever puts this in practice. If he ſaith it is not neceſſary;

ceſſary, he deſerts the cauſe. For upon what foundation ſhall their Faith rely, who do not that which he confeſſeth not neceſſary to be done, and yet think ſufficient to confirm their Faith? But what if the Doctor, who is conſulted, be in the ſame errour with the Pariſh-Prieſt, as none will deny he eaſily may? It cannot be imagined that Doctor will tell the conſulter the thing is not taught by the Church, which himſelf thinks to belong to Faith. Or what if that Doctor be ignorant that others, and thoſe Learned Men teach the contrary; as we proved might eaſily happen in the precedent chapter? That anſwer ſurely cannot be ſufficient to ground Faith upon, which can be falſe. For as *Martinonus* [4] truly ſaith. *To believe with undoubting and Infallible Faith, ſuch is Divine Faith, is required an Infallible Argument.* Laſtly, that the Cardinal meaneth it ſufficeth that none in the World can ſhew the Parſon teacheth what is repugnant to others, I can never be induced to believe, ſince a more fooliſh ſence could not be invented. For not the moſt ſagacious Perſon, much leſs a blind Man, could make ſo diligent an inquiry as to be aſſured that none ſuch can be found in the whole World. Add hereto, that it is not more difficult to know directly whether any do teach otherwiſe, than to know whether there be any who can ſhew that it is any where taught otherwiſe: And ſo all our former Arguments will return with their full force againſt this anſwer. But to omit all this, I ask whether any ignorant Perſon uſing ſuch diligence to inquire whether what is taught by his Parſon, is taught unanimouſly by all the other Governours of the Church, as can be expected from a Man of his circumſtances and capacity, can be deceived therein? If he cannot; all thoſe Learned Men, whom I mentioned in the laſt Chapter will be guilty of a moſt intolerable negligence and ſupinity, as being miſtaken in that, wherein even the moſt ignorant cannot be deceived. If he can, then he is not certain, and therefore hath no Faith. For Faith muſt be certain.

[4] *Ad credendum fide indubitatâ & infallibili, qualis eſt fides divina, requiritur argumentum infallibile.* Mart. de diſp. 3. ſect. 4.

CHAP

CHAP. XXII.

That it doth not ſuffice it be known that any thing is taught Unanimouſly by the Governours of the Church, unleſs it appear that it is taught to be of Faith. But that this is moſt uncertain.

FRom what hath been ſaid it is manifeſt, that neither do the Governours of the Church always conſent; nor if they do, can their conſent be certainly known. But ſuppoſe both. The controverſy is not yet ended. For not whatſoever they unanimouſly affirm, is to be received as the revelation of God, and the Doctrine of the Church; but only what they unanimouſly maintain to be of Faith. This *Canus* and *Bellarmin* plainly inſinuate: The firſt, [1] when he ſaith, *the Paſtors of the Church cannot err in the Faith, but whatſoever they teach the faithful People, that it belongs to the Faith of Chriſt, is moſt true*: Bellarmin: [2] *that whatſoever all the Biſhops teach as belonging to Faith, is neceſſarily true and of Faith.* Therefore, *Flor. Conrius* defends himſelf againſt the unanimous conſent of Doctors, who taught 500. Years ſince that unbaptized Infants were not puniſhed with the torments of fire, by pretending that *they did not teach or propoſe this as of Faith.* And indeed it cannot but be abſurd, that the conſent of Paſtors ſhould reach farther than the Infallibility of Pope, or Council, or the Univerſal Church, which as we have before obſerved, is acknowledged not to take place, but in matters which they propoſe as of Faith. Laſtly, the Council of *Trent*, *Pius* V. and divers Provincial Councils wiſhed, that the Catechiſm of *Trent* might be admitted every where, and be uſed by all Paſtors in the inſtruction of their people. Perhaps this is obſerved: For why ſhould it not be! This whole Book then may be reckoned among thoſe things which all Paſtors propoſe to their flocks, not as pertaining to Faith, but as true and wholſom. If therefore, whatſoever all propoſe, muſt neceſſarily be true; there can be nothing falſe, nothing uncertain in this Book. Yet none will deny there are taught in it

[1] *Quicquid fidelem populum docent, quod ad Chriſti fidem attineat.* Can. loc. Theol. lib. 4. cap. 4.

[2] *Id quod docent tanquam ad fidem pertinens.* Bell. de Eccl. lib. 3. cap. 14.

[3] *Non tanquam fidem docuerint aut propoſuerint.* Con. deſtatu parv. cap. 19.

it many Propositions false, more uncertain, and none which might not safely be denied, if they received not their Authority from some other Fountain. Wherefore it is no where admitted as of Infallible authority; a manifest Argument, that those things may be false, which are not taught as of Faith, although taught unanimously.

Before we believe therefore the Doctrine of the Governours of the Church, we must consider how they teach it, whether as of Faith; if not, we must suspend our assent. Now Bishops, Parsons, and Preachers, are wont to teach what seems true to them, and agreeing with Divine Revelation; but very rarely to admonish whether what they teach be of Faith, or a consequent of Faith, whether expresly revealed, or cohærent to things revealed. This *Holden* acknowledgeth. *We never heard*, saith [4] he, *that the Church in delivering the Christian Doctrine exhibited, or composed a Catalogue of revealed Articles, and Divine Institutions, whereby these Articles of divine Faith might be separately and distinctly known from all others, which are either of Ecclesiastical Institution, or not immediately founded upon Divine Revelation, but taught all together confusedly and indistinctly.* Hence even those Divines who agree in the truth of any Article, often differ in judging whether it be of Faith; as we saw before concerning the supreme Power of the Pope. Wherefore *Holden* affirms there are much fewer Articles of Divine and Catholick Faith, than Divines commonly think; and therefore bestows the whole Latter part of his Analysis in composing a Catalogue of such Articles: which would indeed have been very useful, if it were received by all. But he hath omitted some things, which others contend to be of Faith; and inserted others, which some would have omitted. Further in this matter, I appeal to the experience of all Persons; who if they shall ask any of our Adversaries what the Church teacheth concerning Image worship, Invocation of Saints, or the like, will be convinced by their different answers, That it is not ealie to say what the Church teacheth. And if this be difficult to learned Men, how shall it be possible to ignorant Persons?

[4] *In Doctrinâ Christianâ tradendâ nunquam audivimus Ecclesiam articulorum revelatorum & divinarum institutionum Catalogum exhibuisse vel composuisse, quo separatim & distinctè cognosci possent hujusmodi fidei dogmata ab aliis omnibus, quæ vel Ecclesiasticæ sunt institutionis, vel certè quæ revelationi divinæ haud immediatè innitantur; atque adeò omnia simul confusè & indistinctè docuisse.* Hold. Anal. fid. lib. 1. cap. 8.

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Our Adverſaries cannot juſtly pretend, as many of them do, that the Doctors may diſſent in thoſe things, which are of Theological, not Divine right, and belong rather to the Schools than to the Pulpit, without either the knowledge or the damage of the People; but cannot diſſent in matters of Faith, unleſs their diſſenſions be preſently known, becauſe diſputations, ſtrifes and Schiſms preſently ariſe from them, which occaſion either the Decree of a Pope or the calling of a Council to extinguiſh the diſſenſion, and caſt the heretical part out of the Church. That every Laick therefore, both may and ought to be perſwaded of the truth of thoſe things, which his Paſtour teacheth to be of Faith, while he ſeeth none oppoſing him; although himſelf doth not inquire, whether others teach the ſame thing. So *Suarez* [5]. But here many things are ſuppoſed which cannot be granted. Firſt, it is not neceſſary, that as often as a Doctor propoſeth any thing to be of Faith, which is not ſo, ſome others ſhould riſe to oppoſe him. We daily ſee the contrary not only in Pariſhes, but even in Univerſities, where the Wits of Men are more eaſily excited to controverſy: yet there ſome affirm, others deny many matters to be of Faith, without any ſubſequent Schiſms or Animoſities.

[5] De fide diſp. 5. Sect. 1.

Secondly, if any Diſputation, or Oppoſition ſhould ariſe herein; it is not neceſſary it ſhould ever come to the ears of the common People. Every one knows how hot the Controverſy about the Pope's Infallibility hath for ſome Ages been, eſpecially in *France*, where are many Defenders of each Opinion. Yet ſome Years ſince, when I was in that Country, talking with a Prieſt, and him no ordinary Perſon, but a man famous in the neighbourhood, and Doctor of Divinity, when I ſaid the Pope's Infallibility was denied by many, and particularly by the *Sorbon*, he grew very angry, ſaid it was moſt falſe, and confidently maintained that no Catholick Divine ever doubted of it. Nor could I free the Man from his errour, whatſoever I then offered to him. See another example more remarkable. I was preſent at *Paris* in an Aſſembly of Learned Men, who met weekly to treat of matters of learning. They then diſputed of the Pope's Infallibility, which a Prieſt ſaid was lately rejected by the *Gallican* Clergy in their Synod. At that an Abbot who preſided over the Aſſembly, and had the repute of a very Learned Man, was not a little moved, and denied any ſuch thing was ever done by the Clergy. He acknowledged indeed that the Pope could err, whenſoever he gave his opinion as a Private

Doctor, and that the Clergy meant no more than this: but that there was no Catholick, who did not hold his judgment Infallible, whenſoever he pronounced *ex cathedrâ*: and whatſoever the Prieſt could ſay, he would not be perſwaded that there was any diſſenſion among Divines in this matter. If this Learned Abbot could be ignorant of ſo notorious a thing; what ſhall we think of illiterate Chriſtians?

Thirdly, it is not neceſſary, that as often as diſſenſions ariſe in matters of Faith, Schiſm ſhould thence immediately be produced, and occaſion a Decree of the Pope, or calling of a Council. How many things did *Theodorus* of *Mopſueſtia* teach againſt the Faith, which yet were not canvaſſed of many Years after his Death? All acknowledge the number of Canonical Books of Scripture, the neceſſity of the Euchariſt, and ſtate of the Dead to be of Faith: Yet none will deny the Ancients differed in judgment as to all theſe things; and all know that no Schiſms, Diſputes, or Anathema's of Councils aroſe therefrom. But not to depart from this very queſtion: What can be more of Faith, than the Rule of Faith it ſelf, and the moſt eſſential condition of that Rule, Infallibility? Many Doctors of the Church denied this in the XIV. and XV. ages, as we before proved; yet no Schiſm, no Decree of the Church was occaſioned thereby.

But to ſhew the ſophiſtry of this objection more evidently, it may be obſerved, that there are five ſorts of things, which, although not belonging to Faith, may be in the Church propoſed as of Faith. I. Things true, but not revealed. II. Neither true nor revealed, but not repugnant to Revelation. III. Repugnant to things revealed, but ſuch, as it is not manifeſt that they were revealed. IV. Repugnant to things manifeſtly revealed, but ſo as that repugnance is obſcure and remote, not clear and immediate. V. Clearly repugnant to things manifeſtly revealed. Concerning matters of the laſt rank this objection might have ſome force, but not much: ſince the contrary may be ſhewn in ſome examples. But for the four firſt Claſſes it hath no colour of truth. They may be all taught as of Faith, and that, daily, yet be obſerved and regarded by none, much leſs violently oppoſed by any. The want of apparent oppoſition therefore ſufficeth not to make what any one Doctor propoſeth as of Faith, to be ſo. The conſent and

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concurrence of all in teaching the ſame to be of Faith, muſt be aſcertained. Otherwiſe aſſent to it will be fooliſh and raſh, at leaſt uncertain.

CHAP. XXIII.

That it is not certain thoſe things are true, which are unanimouſly taught by all Paſtors.

THat it is uncertain, what the Governours of the Church unanimouſly teach, we have proved; yet grant it certain: Can we ſecurely believe this their unanimous conſent? What if they may all err? This our Adverſaries will ſay they cannot. But is that certain and undoubted? If not, in vain is it alledged. They will perhaps ſay it is; nay, and of Faith, ſo as it cannot be denied without open Hereſy. So *Duvall* [1], and many others. And indeed, if it be not of Faith that all the Paſtors conſenting cannot err, Faith cannot rely upon their Authority. Yet is this moſt falſe; for we before proved theſe two Propoſitions. I. That nothing is of Faith, whoſe contrary is held and taught by Catholick Divines, the Church knowing and not cenſuring their Oppoſition. II. That the greateſt Divines of the *Roman* Church, Doctors, Biſhops, and Cardinals taught; 1. That the whole Clergy might be infected with Hereſy. 2. That the Church, to which Infallibility was promiſed, might conſiſt in one Laick, or one Woman, the reſt apoſtatizing from the Faith. This was the Opinion of *Alenſis*, the Author of the *Gloſs upon the Decretals*, *Lyra*, *Occam*, *Alliaco*, *Panormitan*, *Turrecremata*, *Peter de Monte*, *S. Antoninus*, *Cuſanus*, *Clemangis*, *Jacobatius*, *J. Fr. Picus*. But who can imagin ſo many, and ſo great Men, either not to have known what is of Faith, or wilfully to have taught the contrary?

[1] In 2.2. p. 106.

This moved *Suarez* to eſteem the Infallibility of the Paſtors thus conſenting uncertain. *It is asked*, ſaith he [2], *whether all the Biſhops of the Church can agree in any error? For among Catholicks, ſome affirm*

[2] *Petitur an omnes Epiſcopi Eccleſiæ poſſint convenire in aliquo errore. Nam inter Catholicos quidam affirmant, quia non invenitur promiſſio. Alii negant, quia*, &c. *Mihi verò neutrum videtur ſatis exploratum probabile autem eſt ad providentiam Chriſti pertinere, ut id non permittat.* Suar. de fide diſp. 5. Sect. 6.

firm it, becauſe there is no proviſe found (of the contrary:) Others deny it, becauſe the whole Church would be otherwiſe in great danger of error. To me neither ſeemeth ſufficiently certain. Yet it is probable, that it becomes the Providence of Chriſt not to permit it. In theſe words two things may be obſerved. Firſt, That *Suarez* ſpeaks of the Infallibility of Biſhops not in believing, but in teaching. For he ſaith this in anſwer to an Objection, That if all the Biſhops could err, then the other part of the Church, the Laity, might alſo err, becauſe they ordinarily follow the Doctrine of their Paſtors, and are bound to do it. Now the People are bound to follow their Paſtors, not in what they think, but in what they teach. This alſo appears from the reaſon why ſome denied the conſent of all Biſhops in any error to be poſſible, becauſe, if that ſhould happen the whole Church would be brought into great danger of error. But if Biſhops ſhould teach rightly, although they thought erroneouſly, there would be thence no danger of Error to the reſt of the Faithful. Secondly, Of this Infallibility of Biſhops in what they teach unanimouſly, he ſaith three things. 1. That ſome Catholicks deny it. 2. That neither part ſeems certain to him. 3. That it is probable. All which ſingly prove, That he thought it not to be of Faith. But who can imagine ſo great a Doctor could be ignorant of what was of Faith?

Theoph. Raynaudus differed not much from the Opinion of *Suarez*: *That the viſible Head,* ſaith he [3], *being laid aſide, all the Members ſhould be infected with any material error, could ſcarce happen; and it is moſt probable God will take care it ſhould not. Yet if it ſhould happen, the Head being uninfected, the perpetuity of true Faith in the Church would ſuffer no loſs:* Where he determines not abſolutely this cannot happen; but looks upon the contrary only as moſt probable; and denieth the Infallibility of the whole Church to depend thereon, which is ſo much urged by the maintainers of the contrary Opinion. *Rhodius* ſpeaks more plainly, who affirms [4], That *the Pope being dead, the Church hath no Infallible Authority to make Decrees of Faith, as having no actual and immediate Infallibility at that time.*

[3] *Ut, ſepoſito capite viſibili, membra omnia poſſint infici aliquo errore materiali, vix poteſt contingere; & verisimillimum eſt Deo ſemper cordi futurum ne id accidat. Si tamen accideret, incontaminato capite, nihil decederet de perpetuitate veræ fidei in Eccleſiâ.* Rayn. αὐτὸς ἴφα punct. 5.

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Hence is manifeſt, that we want little of a Confeſſion from our Adverſaries, that the Infallibility of the Governours of the Church is not of Faith. And indeed it cannot be. For no Foundation of ſuch a Faith is to be found: Not Scripture or Tradition. For not to ſay, that theſe, to make any Article become of Faith, ought, according to our Adverſaries, moſt evidently to contain it; which evidence even they will not deny to be here wanting: It would be moſt abſurd, that Papiſts ſhould believe this Infallibility of the Paſtors of the Church for the Authority of Scripture and Tradition; when they believe neither of theſe, but for the Authority of the Paſtors. Take away their Teſtimony, and they will deny it to be known whether Scripture or Tradition be the word of God, or what is the ſence of either. The ſame may be ſaid of the Decrees of the Church Repreſentative. For beſides that no ſuch expreſs Decree of it can be produced, the Infallibility of the Repreſentative Church it ſelf is believed by every ſingle Papiſt, only becauſe they hear it taught by their Paſtors. As for the belief of the Univerſal Church, that ought not be produced. For that is the thing now inquired, why the Univerſal Church believeth ſo?

Will our Adverſaries therefore ſay, they believe their Paſtors cannot err in teaching unanimouſly what is of Faith; becauſe they ſo teach themſelves? This they muſt recurr to; for they have no other reaſon left of believing ſo: Yet nothing can be more abſurd. For firſt, it is the conſtant Opinion of all Mankind, and a received Law among all Nations, that none ſhould be Witneſs or Judge in his own Cauſe. Secondly, As we believe not any Man to be true and honeſt, till we be aſſured of his veracity and honeſty from ſome other Teſtimony than his own: So it would be the higheſt imprudence to eſteem thoſe Infallible, who challenge that privilege to themſelves; until their Infallibility be known to us from ſome other Argument than their own Teſtimony. Certainly our Adverſaries will not permit even the Scripture, which is the word of God, and hath ſo many illuſtrious Characters of a Divine Original, to be believed for its own Teſtimony; and Chriſt openly profeſſed, that if he bore Witneſs of himſelf, his Witneſs was not credible. Why then ſhall that be attributed to the Governours of the Church; which Chriſt denied to himſelf, and our

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Adverſaries

Adversaries deny to the Word of God? Thirdly, The Question will return, whence the Pastors of the Church know that they cannot err? For they will not say, they know it because the Faithful believe it; since as *Hallier* [5] well saith, *The Pastors do not therefore teach truly, because the Auditors believe truly; but the Auditors believe truly, because they assent to the Pastors teaching truly.* They cannot say, that they know it from Scripture or Tradition. For the truth of these, without the Authority of the Church is no more known to learned than to unlearned persons. *Think not*, saith *Bagotius* [6], *that any one, even the most learned Divine, can believe any thing without the Authority of the Church, and independently from it.* And *Hosius* [7] goeth so far, that he maintains it to be the best way, that even the most learned Men should recurr to implicit Faith, and believe only in general as the Church believeth. Shall the Pastors therefore believe, that they cannot err for their own Testimony? This is the natural consequence of our Adversaries Doctrine, and that most absurd. For first, there is none of the Pastors which believeth so, because he teacheth so; but all teach so, because all believe so. Again, The Question will recurr upon what Foundation do they teach so? Here either nothing, or only this must be answered, That they teach so because they believe so. Then if you ask why they believe so? no other answer can be given, than because they believe so; which is so foolish, as that I need not urge it any farther.

[5] *Non ideo vera docent Pastores, quia vera credunt Auditores; sed ideo vera credunt Auditores, quia vera docentibus assentiuntur.* F. Hallier de Hierarch. l. 4. c. 2.

[6] *Cave existimes unumquenquam, etiam Theologum Doctissimum, posse quicquam credere sine authoritate Ecclesiæ & independenter abea.* Bagot. Instit. Theol. l. 4. c. 1. §. 1.

[7] Hos. cont. Brent.

CHAP. XXIV.

That the Faith of all single Christians cannot rely upon the Faith of the Universal Church; because, first, it appears not who belong to that Church, which is thought Infallible.

THus far have we considered the Faith of the Universal Church, as it is taught by the Pastors or Clergy. It remains that we treat of it as it is believed both by Clergy and Laity; which is the last refuge of our Adversaries. Here I undertake to prove, That there is nothing whereon the Faith of all private Christians can less rely; and that for three reasons. 1. Because it doth not appear what is that Universal Church,

Church, whoſe Faith is to be the Rule of ours. 2. Becauſe it is not known what is the Faith of that Church. 3. Becauſe it is not manifeſt whether the Faith of any Church aſſignable, be true.

The firſt is evinced two ways. For firſt, it is uncertain what is the true Idea or Definition of the Church, what is required to conſtitute it, whether only an external profeſſion of the true Faith, or alſo internal Faith and Piety: And then although this were certain, it would be yet unknown, whether the *Roman*, *Greek*, or any other, were that true Church. As for the firſt, our Adverſaries would perſwade us, That they agree in the notion of a true Church. Yet nothing is more manifeſt than their diſcord in this matter. There are chiefly three Opinions of them herein: For if we ſhould make an exact enumeration of them, we ſhould find many more. The firſt teacheth, That the Church is made up of all perſons baptized, and outwardly profeſſing the true Faith, and adhering to the Pope of *Rome*, whether they be truly Faithful, or ſecretly Infidels. The ſecond to an External Profeſſion, requires Internal Faith, at leaſt in form, to be added as neceſſary; and thereby excludes all ſecret Infidels and Hereticks. The third requireth Charity to be added to theſe two, and leaveth no place in the Church, but to thoſe who are truly juſt, and free from Mortal Sin.

The firſt Opinion is defended by many, particularly *Canus*, *Bellarmin*, *Duvall*, and almoſt all the later writers of Controverſy, eſpecially the *French*. The ſecond is taught by many: For all thoſe ſeem to favour it, who define the Church to be the Congregation of the Faithful; of whom *Launoy* [1] reckons up a very great number. But it is openly and manifeſtly taught by *Alenſis*, *Clemangis*, *Turrecremata*, and *Jacobatius*; while in the places formerly cited they aſſert, That the Church may be reduced to one only Woman, as it actually was at the time of our Saviour's Paſſion. The Univerſity of *Cracow* produced by *Launoy* [2], defined [3] the Church to be *a Myſtical, Organical Body, animated by the Faith of Chriſt, conſtituted by all baptized perſons, having the Faith of Chriſt either in form or formal.* The ſame Opinion is accu-

[1] Laun. Epiſt. Tom. 8. ad Gartin.

[2] *Ubi ſupra.*

[3] *Eſt Eccleſia Corpus myſticum, organicum, fide Chriſti animatum,— Ex quo fit quod omnes baptizati, habentes fidem Chriſti ſive informem ſive formatam, conſtituunt Eccleſiam militantem.*

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rately and largely defended by *Suarez* [4], *Arriaga* [5], and *Caſpenſis* [6] among the Moderns.

The third Opinion ſeemeth to be favoured by *Bannes* [7], while he ſaith, *The Catechumens ſimply belong to the Inviſible Church, as being members of Chriſt through Charity; but to the Viſible Church only in part*, viz. *in wiſh and deſire.* But he inclineth more to the ſecond, in theſe words [8], *The Church, although it be a viſible Commonwealth, requireth ſomewhat inviſible, to wit, Faith. Hereticks therefore, as wanting that, are out of the Church.* And in another place [9], *The Faithful which are Sinners, are truly parts of the Church Militant.* But to omit *Bannes*, the third Opinion is openly maintained by *Hugo à Sancto Victore*, whoſe words are theſe [10]: *The Church hath Stones, to wit, the Faithful, who as one Stone is joined to another by Cement, are joined to the Church by Charity.* And in another place [11], *The Holy Church is the Body of Chriſt, quickned by one Spirit, and united by one Faith, and ſanctified. This word therefore ſignifieth the Members of Chriſt partaking of the Spirit of Chriſt. Antoninus* of *Florence*, after he had ſaid, The Church is ſometimes taken for the General Collection of the Faithful, ſubjoins theſe words [12], *In the ſecond place the Church is taken for the Congregation of Good Believers, who are incorporated into Chriſt by Charity. This is that Church which is governed by the Holy Ghoſt, the Myſtical Body of Chriſt, which is animated by his Spirit, for which Chriſt prayed, that her Faith ſhould not fail.* The ſame ſaith *Cuſanus* [13], *It is manifeſt that this Body of the Church, which is thus diſpoſed* (which adhereth to Chriſt in Spirit, in which the Spirit dwells, quickning the whole Body) *is made up only of Predeſtinate Perſons. Only thoſe perſons therefore, who continue in the Grace of preſent Righteouſneſs are accounted to be of the Church. Dionyſius*

[4] Suar. de fide diſp. 9. Sect. 2.
[5] Arr. de fide diſp. 7. Sect. 2.
[6] Caſp. de fide diſp. 2. Sect. 2. 9.

[7] *Catechumeni ſimpliciter pertinent ad Eccleſiam inviſibilem; ſiquidem ſunt membra Chriſti per Charitatem; ſed ad Eccleſiam viſibilem ſecundùm quid*, viz. *per votum & deſiderium.* Bann. in 2. 2. qu. 1. art. 10. p. 47.

[8] *Eccleſia licèt ſit Reſpublica quædam viſibilis, requirit tamen aliquid inviſibile, ſc. fidem. Hæretici ergo extra eam ſunt, cùm fidem non habeant.* Id. comm. ſuſ. in art. 10. p. 90.

[9] *Fideles peccatores ſunt verè partes Eccleſiæ militantis.* Id. Comm. brev. p. 47.

[10] *Eccleſia habet lapides, ſc. fideles; qui ſicut per cæmentum lapis jungitur lapidi, ſic per charitatem junguntur ſibi.* Hug. lib. C. Serm. Serm. 3.

[11] *Eccleſia ſancta corpus eſt Chriſti uno ſpiritu vivificata, & unita fide unâ, & ſanctificata.—— Hoc itaque nomen ſignificat membra Chriſti participantia Spiritum Chriſti.* Id. de Sacr. part. 2. cap. 2.

[12] *Secundo modo ſumitur Eccleſia pro congregatione bonorum fidelium, qui ſunt per charitatem Chriſto incorporati. Hæc eſt Eccleſia, quæ regitur à Sp. S. corpus Chriſti myſticum, quod vegetatur ſpiritu ejus, pro quâ Chriſtus oravit, ne fides deficeret.* Ant. Summ. Theol. part. 3. tit. 12. c. 1.

[13] *Manifeſtum eſt hoc corpus Eccleſiæ, quod ita ſe habuit, ex prædeſtinatis tantùm conſtitui —— Exiſtentes in gratiâ præſentis juſtitiæ ſolum de Eccleſiâ eſſe cenſentur.* Cuſ. Concord. lib. 1. cap. 4.

nyſius Carthuſianus [14] brings in Chriſt thus ſpeaking. *I will build and confirm my Church, that is, the Congregation of the Faithful, by inſeparably uniting their hearts to me by Faith, Charity, and Grace; ſo as all may be one myſtical Body, and one Houſe.* *J. Fr. Picus Mirandula* [15] ſaith, That *we ought not to recede from the proper ſignification of the Word; that ſo that might be called primarily, properly, and moſt principally the Holy Catholick Church, which comprehendeth all men of a right and Apoſtolick Faith and unfeigned Charity.* *Ferus* upon thoſe words, *Matth.* XV. *The gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it*, ſaith [16], *Chriſt ſpeaks not here of the Church as it is commonly underſtood of the Collection of all Chriſtians, whether good or bad, but of the Church according to the Spirit, which comprehends only the Elect.* Laſtly, *Chr. Lupus* [17] affirms, That *the Church which received the Keys, is not the univerſal Communion of the Faithful in the Lawful Sacraments, but the ſole Congregation of the juſt, or the Communion of Saints:* Which he purſueth at large, and proveth by many Teſtimonies of St. *Auguſtine*; to which we might add many others no leſs cogent of other Fathers; as St. *Hierom*, *Agobardus*, *Bernard*, &c. if our Argument conſiſted in the truth of this Opinion. It ſufficeth to ſhew it was received by many; and conſequently that our Adverſaries do not agree in forming the Idea of a Church.

[14] *Ædificabo & confirmabo Eccleſiam meam, id eſt, congregationem fidelium, corda eorum per fidem, charitatem & gratiam mihi inſeparabiliter connectendo; ita ut omnes ſint unum corpus myſticum, unaque domus.* Carth. in Matth. XVI. art. 26.

[15] *A propriâ vocabuli ſignificatione recedendum ipſe non putarem; ut primò & propriè principaliſſimèque Sancta Catholica Eccleſia diceretur, quæ omnes rectæ & Apoſtolicæ fidei & non fictæ charitatis homines complecteretur.* Pic. Theor. 13.

[16] *Sed loquitur de Eccleſiâ ſecundùm ſpiritum, quæ ſolos electos complectitur.* Fer. in Matth.

[17] *Eccleſia quæ claves accepit, non eſt univerſa fidelium in legitimis Sacramentis communio, ſed ſola congregatio juſtorum, ſeu Sanctorum communio.* Lup. in Concil. rom. 4. p. 818.

Now this Diſſenſion is of great moment. For if the ſecond, or eſpecially the third Opinion be true, the Doctrine of our Adverſaries will be wholly overthrown. For not to ſay, that if Sinners be excluded out of the Church, the Pope and whole Councils may perhaps not belong to it, and ſo want that Infallibility which is appropriated to the true Church. To omit this, ſince we treat not now of active but paſſive Infallibilty, I ſay, That according to this Hypotheſis, the Faith of our Adverſaries cannot rely upon the belief of the Univerſal Church. For to conform themſelves to this Rule of Faith, they muſt firſt perfectly know it; which cannot be, if they know not what is that Church, whoſe Faith they ought to follow. But how ſhall they know the Church, if that conſiſt only of Pious Men, whom none will deny to be known to God alone? *Canus* was not ignorant

norant of this; who rejecteth this Opinion, becauſe, ſaith he[18], *all things will be uncertain, if the Church be limited to pious Men.* Will our Adverſaries therefore ſay, that the firſt of theſe Opinions is certain, the other undoubtedly falſe? That is eaſier affirmed than proved. Beſides, of what degree of certainty would they have their aſſertions to be? Not certainly of Divine Faith; unleſs Hereſie be imputed to all thoſe Learned Men, who maintained the ſecond and third Opinions. But no other degree of certainty can be obtained in theſe things, nor will any other ſuffice.

[18] *Incerta erunt omnia, ſi apud ſolos pios Eccleſia eſt.* Can. loc. Theol. lib. 4. cap. 3.

CHAP. XXV.

That our Adverſaries have no way of knowing the true Church.

IT doth not appear therefore, who they are that truly belong to the Church. Yet ſuppoſe it is, and that all Baptized Perſons outwardly profeſſing the true Faith, are Members of it; which Opinion moſt pleaſeth our Adverſaries, and is moſt advantageous for them. It is ſtill to be enquired, which, out of ſo many Societies that challenge to themſelves the name of the Church, juſtly and truly claims it. For not any one that firſt occurrs, is to be admitted and preferred before the reſt. But here, if any where, a diligent and accurate Examination is to be uſed; leſt inſtead of the Church of Chriſt, we follow the Synagogue of Satan; and for Divine Revelations receive execrable Errors. This eſpecially becomes them, who when they have found the Church, give over any further enquiry, and receive without Examination all the dictates of it. They ought to be very vigilant and curious in the choice of their Guide; leſt if they haply miſtake, they incurr that Sentence of Chriſt, *If the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the ditch.* Let us ſee therefore whether our Adverſaries can boaſt they have made a juſt and accurate enquiry herein, and moſt certainly found out the true Church.

There are chiefly three Methods of making this Enquiry.

1. From the truth of the Doctrine profeſſed by any Church, and

and Conformity of that to the Word of God. 2. By Notes known only by the light of right Reaſon, and independently from the Word of God. 3. By Notes which are marked out and taught in the Scripture. *Arriaga* preferreth the firſt Method before all others. *I anſwer*, ſaith he [1], *that the truth of the Doctrine may be proved without recurring to the Church; yea, and that before the firſt Proof of the true Church, the truth of the Doctrine ought to be proved.* He proveth both parts of his Aſſertion largely, and in the ſecond part of it maketh uſe of this Argument. *For ſince the Church, as a Church, is defined the Congregation of men profeſſing the true Doctrine of Faith, it is a contradiction in the very terms, to ſuppoſe any Congregation to be the true Church, unleſs I do for that very reaſon ſuppoſe there is the true Doctrine.* I cannot therefore firſt prove the Doctrine is true from the truth of the Church. To this we willingly ſubſcribe, and approve this Method of *Arriaga*'s only. Not ſo the reſt of our Adverſaries, who deteſt it, and labour to render it both infamous and impoſſible; pretending it to be full of inextricable difficulties, and not to be ſurmounted by the moſt learned, much leſs by illiterate perſons. Wherefore I need not endeavour to prove that the true Church cannot be by this way known by our Adverſaries: They freely grant it, urge it, and labour to demonſtrate it.

[1] *Reſpondeo veritatem doctrinæ probari etiam poſſe, non recurrendo ad Eccleſiam, imò ante primam probationem veræ Eccleſiæ debere probari veritatem doctrinæ.* — *Etenim cum Eccleſia, ut Eccleſia, definiatur per hoc, quòd ſit cœtus profitentium veram doctrinam fidei, repugnat in terminis me ſupponere aliquam congregationem eſſe veram Eccleſiam; niſi dicam eo ipſo ibi eſſe veram doctrinam. Ergo non poſſum primò probare veram doctrinam ex veræ Eccleſiæ.* Arr. de fide diſp. 7. Sect. 5.

The ſecond Method is uſed by many; who contend that the Church may be known independently from the Word of God by the help of Notes and Characters perceived by Natural Reaſon, ſuch as are Miracles, Sanctity, Antiquity, Amplitude, and the like. But they withal admoniſh that the Church cannot this way be known, as it hath annexed to it the Privilege of Infallibility by the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, and conſequently as it is the certain Rule of Faith. They deny this can be any other way found out than by Faith relying on the Promiſes of Chriſt and the other teſtimonies of Scripture. But that the Authority, which theſe Notes conferr, is Humane, Fallible, and a Foundation only of humane and acquired, not of

divine and infused Faith. So among infinite others teach *Canus* [2], *Bannes* [3], *Suarez* [4], *Duvall* [5], *Conink* [6], *Arriaga* [7], *Tſambertus* [8], *Gillius* [9], *Amicus* [10], and *Rhodius* [11]: The laſt of theſe affirms, *there is a two-fold Authority of the Church; the one purely Humane, as it is proved by Miracles, Prophecies, and ſuch like; the other Divine, as it is Infallible by the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt. Neither can be the formal Object of Faith. Not the firſt; for then it would follow that Faith were Natural, Fallible,* &c. Certainly it is abſurd to imagine that the Church of Chriſt, redeemed and governed by him, and animated by his Spirit, can be known by the ſole light of Nature without Revelation. Nature might diſcover ſomewhat admirable and excellent in it; but nothing more than humane, or exalted beyond humane infirmities. But this is not that we ſeek for. We are enquiring a Method of knowing the Church as it is the Rule of Faith, and Infallible: which ſince this Method cannot perform, it cannot be produced in this place.

[1] Loc. Theol. l. 2. c. 8. [2] In 2.2. qu. 1. art. 1. dub. 4. [3] De fide diſp. 3. Sect. 10. [4] In 2. 2. p. 10. [5] De actib. ſup. diſp. 17. n. 68. [6] De fide diſp. 3. Sect. 1. [7] De fide diſp. 26 art. 2. [8] De doctr. ſacrâ l. 1. tract. 7. c. 9. [9] De fide diſp. 2. Sect. 4. [10] *Duplex eſt authoritas Eccleſiæ, alia eſt purè humana, prout ſc. eam probant miracula, prophetia, & alia hujuſmodi: alia eſt divina, prout ex aſſiſtentiâ Sp. S. eſt infallibilis. Neutra poteſt eſſe objectum formale fidei. Non prima, ſequeretur enim fidem eſſe naturalem, eſſe fallibilem, &c.* Rhod. de fide qu. 1. Sect. 4. §. 4.

For theſe Reaſons our Adverſaries fly to the third Method; and endeavour to demonſtrate the Church from Notes, which they pretend to be aſſigned in Scripture. So *Driedo* [12] from hence, that Chriſt is not now preſent, nor teacheth with his own mouth in the Church, nor atteſteth the Preaching of others with Signs and Miracles, concludes, *We muſt neceſſarily flee to the Scriptures, and enquire thence which is the true Church.* Stapleton [13]: *We ſay therefore, and willingly acknowledge with St.* Auguſtine, *that the Church is to be ſought for in the Scripture; that is, what are the Notes, Privileges, and Properties of the Church, is to be found out from the Oracles of Holy Scripture, not from Humane Arguments.* The ſame ſay the Popiſh Diſputants in the Conference of *Ratiſbon* [14]. *We know the Chriſtian Religion only from the Scriptures; becauſe from the Notes only declared in Scripture, and from no others, we know which is the true Church.* This way alſo Card. *Richlieu* [15] chiefly follows.

[12] De Eccl. dogm. l. 2. c. 3. l. 4. c. 4.

[13] *Dicimus ergo, & libentiſſimè dicimus cum Auguſtino in Scripturis quærendam eſſe Eccleſiam, i. e. quæ ſint notæ, dotes & proprietates Eccleſiæ ex S. Scriptura oraculis, non ex humanis documentis inveſtigandum eſſe.* De princip. doctr. lib. 1. cap. 24.

[14] *Tantummodo igitur ex Scripturis Religionem Chriſtianam cognoſcimus; quia tantummodo ex notis in Scripturâ declaratis, & non ex aliis cognoſcimus, qua ſit vera Eccleſia.* Colloq. Ratiſb. Seſſ. 8. [15] *Meth. liv. 1. Chap. 8.*

But

But there are many things inconſiſtent to be found in it: As firſt, that it ſuppoſeth the Scripture to be acknowledged for the Word of God. For no man can believe the Notes of the Church laid down in the Scripture to be true and certain, till he be firſt perſwaded that all things contained in it are true and Divine. But how ſhall he, who hath not yet known the Church (for ſuch is he who enquires after it) be aſſured of the Divinity of Scripture, if it be true what our Adverſaries ſo often inculcate, That the Scripture to us is of no Authority, till atteſted and confirmed by the Church? Thus a manifeſt Circle will be committed, Scripture received for the Authority of the Church, and the Church for the Authority of Scripture. Card. *Richlieu* confeſſeth this a great difficulty; but contendeth it may be ſolved by ſaying, The Church is known independently from the Scripture by the help of Notes, which Natural Reaſon ſuggeſteth can agree to none but the true Church. But if the Church can be known before the Scripture, what need the Scripture be conſulted to find Notes whereby we may be brought to the knowledge of the Church? To what end theſe Labyrinths and fruitleſs toil to ſearch out a thing already known? Not to ſay, that this Method is coincident with the ſecond before mentioned, and is therefore for the ſame reaſons to be rejected. Beſides it manifeſtly contradicts our Adverſaries Hypotheſis concerning the obſcurity of Scripture. Every one knows how much they exaggerate this obſcurity, and *Richlieu* himſelf, within a few pages of this place, maintains it is obſcure, both as to the ſenſe, and as to the letter; and that not only to the Reprobate, but even the Elect; to the Faithful and Doctors themſelves. Who after all this can believe that he ſpeaks ſincerely and in earneſt, when he undertakes to demonſtrate out of this Book, ſo obſcure and impenetrable to the greateſt Wits, the Characters of the true Church, not to a Doctor or a Believer, but to an Infidel: For this he pretends, about his Converſion is the Diſpute raiſed.

The Cardinal therefore in that undertakes a moſt difficult matter. But the obſcurity of Scripture is not all the difficulty of this undertaking. For how ſhall it be demonſtrated thoſe things are by Scripture aſſigned for the Notes of the Church, of which Scripture is wholly ſilent, nay, teacheth the contrary to ſome of them; as might be evidently proved, if the intended

brevity

brevity of this Diſſertation would permit it? But ſuppoſe the Scripture attributes to the Church whatſoever our Adverſaries would have to be ſo many Notes of it: This avails not, unleſs it appear that thoſe Notes are not only true, but alſo the only Notes, and that no other is aſſigned in Scripture. This the Cardinal himſelf admoniſheth. *It is to be obſerved*, ſaith he[16], *that although it doth not follow that Society which hath one of the Notes of the true Church, is the true Church; yet it follows, that Society which wanteth one of theſe Notes, is not the true Church. Valentia* had gone before him. *Theſe are the Notes*, ſaith he[17], *which we urge, One, Holy, Catholick, Apoſtolick. Theſe are not the Notes of the Church ſingly, but conjunctly; becauſe it may be that one or two of them may agree to others.* And indeed it cannot be denied that the *Greek* Church hath many of theſe Notes. If therefore from one or more of them we might argue affirmatively, the *Greek* muſt be granted to be a true Church.

[16] *Method. liv. 1. chap.*

[17] *Non ſunt notæ Eccleſiæ ſigillatim ſed conjunctim, quia fieri poſſit ut una harum & altera aliis conveniat.* Val. Anal. fid. lib. 6. cap. 7.

To conclude therefore that the *Roman*, or any other, is the true Church, it is neceſſary that no note of the true Church be wanting to it, and that it be evident no other note is aſſigned in Scripture beſides thoſe wherein ſhe already glorieth. While this is uncertain, nothing can be ſecurely concluded from any Notes whatever. That an Infidel therefore be rightly inſtructed, it is required, that he read over the whole Scripture from one end to the other, accurately weigh and examine all places, that he may be aſcertained none of thoſe Notes have eſcaped his diligence. But this beſides, that it is long and tedious, and apt rather to diſcourage and deterr than allure an Infidel to the Chriſtian Religion, is impoſſible, if our Adverſaries Doctrine of the obſcurity of Scripture be admitted. For who can promiſe himſelf that nothing hath eſcaped his moſt ſagacious enquiry, amidſt ſo much darkneſs and intricacy, as our Adverſaries pretend to be in Scripture? Much leſs can an Infidel be aſſured of this, whoſe Underſtanding is yet clouded with Errors, and his Eyes with Blindneſs. Yet if he be not certain that no one Note of the Church is unknown to him, how many ſoever he hath by his ſearch obſerved, in vain doth he ſweat: ſince even, according to our Adverſaries, many Notes contribute nothing to that Society, to which any one is wanting. And this is ſo much the more difficult, becauſe our Adverſaries are not agreed about the number of the Notes. *Valentia* and many others aſſign

aſſign four, *Driedo* ſix, *Medina* ten, *Sanders* and *Piſtorius* twelve, *Bellarmin* fifteen, *Boſius* an hundred. In ſo great variety of opinions what certainty can be expected?

But what if in this diligent reading of Scripture many things ſhall occurr, whereby the Catechumen will be induced to believe there are many other Notes beſide thoſe which our Adverſaries point out, and thoſe ſuch as will divert him from embracing the Communion of the Church of *Rome?* He will in the firſt place obſerve thoſe words of Chriſt. [18] *If ye continue in my Word, then are ye my Diſciples indeed. He that is of God, heareth God's words. My Sheep hear my voice.* Hence he will conclude that the truth of Doctrine, and its conformity to God's word, is the moſt certain Note of the true Church. But our Adverſaries will never permit, that he ſhould make uſe of this Note to find out the Church. For that would introduce the firſt method ſo much hated by them: and it were to be feared, that the Catechumen comparing the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* with the Scripture, would find a manifeſt repugnance in many things. Another Note of the Church he would find to be the obſervation of the Divine Precepts from the ſame places. For he cannot be ſaid to hear the voice of Chriſt, that obeys it not. And in other places Chriſt ſaith: [19] *If ye keep my commandments, ye ſhall abide in my Love. Ye are my friends if ye do what ſoever I command you.* God alſo foretold by his Prophets that under the new Covenant he would write his Laws in the hearts of Men, and make them to walk in his ſtatutes. But can the Catechumen find this obſervation of the Divine precepts in the Church of *Rome*, where the Cup is taken from the Laity, Prayers performed in an Unknown Tongue, and many other things uſed expreſly contrary to the Divine Commands?

[18] John VIII. 31, 47. X. 27.

[19] John VIII. 10, 14.

The Scripture oft-times calls the Church the moſt chaſt Spouſe of Chriſt. Now this Chaſtity conſiſts in keeping her Faith to God, and transferring no part of the Divine Worſhip due to him upon any other objects. Otherwiſe God will implead her of adultery, and give her a bill of divorcement. Will the Catechumen then from this Note conclude the Church of *Rome* to be the Spouſe of Chriſt; by whom he perceiveth ſo many Creatures, Saints deceaſed, their Reliques, the Croſs, Images, and the Hoſt, to be worſhipped and adored? Meekneſs and Gentleneſs is alſo a note of the Church, when her Children are frequently

quently in the Scriptures called *Sheep*, *Lambs*, *Doves*, *Turtles*. *Isaiah* foretold all cruelty ſhould be far from the Church of
[19] Iſai. XI. 9. & LXIII. 25. Chriſt. [20] *They ſhall not hurt nor deſtroy in all my Holy Mountain.* Chriſt left his Peace to his Diſciples, and ſaid to them: [21] *Learn*
[21] Matth. XI. 29. *of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye ſhall find reſt unto your Souls.* Who can then imagine the Church of Chriſt to be that Society, which perſecutes all diſſenting from her with fire and ſword, and ſcarce uſeth any other arguments than Racks and Gibbets? Of the ſame nature, with this Note is another laid down by *Da-*
[22] Pſ. CX. 3. *vid.* He calls [22] the Church *a willing People*: who are not retained in the Communion of their Saviour by force and fear, but by a moſt free and that moſt fervent Love. Hence her moſt excellent
[23] Zach. XI. 7. Paſtor is ſaid [23] to govern her with *two ſtaves*, *one called Beauty*, *and the other Bands*: but that you may not miſtake, thoſe
[1] Hoſ. XI. 4. bands are [1] *the cords of a Man*, *and the bands of Love*. Is *Rome* therefore this Church of Chriſt, which whereſoever ſhe commands, hath no ſtronger bands to retain her People than the deteſtable Tribunal of the Holy Inquiſition? To theſe two laſt Notes is conjoined a ſixth: That ſhe be free, and not a Servant of Men, eſpecially of Paſtors. This the Scripture teacheth in many places, particularly, *Gal.* IV. 25, 26. *John* VIII. 32. 36. 2 *Cor.* I. 24. III. 17. IV. 5. 1 *Pet.* V. 3. *Ja.* I. 25. That therefore is not the Church of Chriſt, which ſerveth the Pope, whoſe Slave *Cajetan* expreſly calls her. Is that Church free, upon which the Pope impoſeth arbitrary Laws, which none muſt call in queſtion? Can he be denied to be Lord of the Church,
[4] Decret part. 1. diſt. 40. can. *Si Papa.* who as the Canon Law [3] tells us, *although he ſhould carry innumerable People by troops as Slaves to Hell, to be with himſelf for ever tormented; yet no mortal muſt preſume to reprehend his faults, becauſe he is to judge all, to be judged of none?* Who, not to mention obſolete Stories, but lately commanded all to believe, there is five heretical propoſitions in *Janſenius*; and yet, although humbly intreated by many Doctors, would not declare in what part of *Janſenius* his Book they might be found? What is this but to account Chriſtians as moſt vile Slaves?
[5] John IV. 23. The ſeventh Note of the Church conſiſts in this, [5] That ſhe worſhip God in Spirit and in Truth. The ancient Church of the Jews indeed uſed a groſs and ſenſible kind of Worſhip, and was employed about the mean and beggerly Elements of the World: but it is the peculiar glory of the Chriſtian Church, to wor-

ſhip

ſhip God in a way moſt conſentaneous to the ſimplicity of his being and the holineſs of his nature. Not ſo the Church of *Rome*, which obſerveth ſo many diverſe and difficult ceremonies; that in compariſon of them the Moſaick Rites are both few and eaſy. This you will ſoon acknowledge, if you compare the fourth or at moſt the third part of the Pentateuch (for no more is taken up with ritual matters) with ſo many vaſt volumes, the Ceremonial, Pontifical, Ritual, Miſſal, Gradual, and others; which preſcribe the external part of the Roman Service. Laſtly, the true Church is that which neither uſurpeth nor diſturbeth the civil Goverment. Therein imitating Chriſt her Maſter; who offered heavenly things to all, earthly to none; profeſſed his Kingdom was not of this World; withdrew himſelf unto the Mountains, when ſought for by the multitude to be made a King; and refuſed to be a Judge in a matter of inheritance. The true Church obſerveth the Apoſtles precept [4] of being *ſubject to the higher Powers*: And that other [5] of *rendering to all their due, tribute to whom tribute, cuſtom to whom cuſtom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour*. Not ſo the Church of *Rome*, whoſe Head, the Pope, depoſeth Kings at his pleaſure, abſolveth their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and pretends to a Sovereign Dominion over the whole World. I might produce many other like Notes of the Church out of Scripture; but theſe ſuffice to ſhew how great danger they expoſe the Church of *Rome* to, who out of thoſe Holy Writings permit a judgment to be formed of her Truth and Purity.

[4] Rom. XIII. 1.

[5] Ibid. v. 7.

I will now proceed briefly to demonſtrate that not even from thoſe Notes which the Church of *Rome* aſſigns, can it be known that ſhe is the true Church. Card. *Richlieu* aſſigns four, Antiquity, Amplitude, Perpetuity, and Succeſſion. Amplitude ſhall be conſidered afterwards; the other three I will now briefly touch. Antiquity conſiſts ſolely or chiefly in this, that the Church which is called Ancient, have preſerved the ſame Faith, Worſhip, and Religion from the beginning. While the Church of *Rome* therefore glorieth in Antiquity, ſhe meaneth that ſhe now profeſſeth the ſame Faith which Chriſt formerly inſtituted, and his Apoſtles taught. But to know this there is no other way than to compare the preſent Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* with the Ancient Monuments of Chriſtian Religion,

of which Scripture is the Chief. Now this in nothing differeth from the first method, which we only approve, and our Adversaries reject. If then the Church cannot be known by that method, neither can it by that which our Adversaries propose. The discussion of perpetuity is yet more difficult. For therein is to be proved not only that the present is the same with the first and original Doctrine, but also that it was so in every Age, and that this profession of the old Religion was never once interrupted. Now how vast and unexhausted a knowledge of antiquity doth this require? No ancient monument must be neglected; infinite Volumes both Printed and Manuscript must be read through. This few Men can attend to; or if they could, one Age would not suffice. Yet this accordding to *Richlieu's* method must be done by any Infidel who is a Candidate of Christianity. The same may be said of Succession. That is twofold, of Doctrine, and of Persons. The first is coincident with antiquity and perpetuity: the second in *Gretser's* judgment is of little moment. *Without Truth of Doctrine*, saith he, [6] *Succession of Pastors is of small weight*. But suppose it of the greatest moment. What is more laborious and difficult, to say no more, than to prove that in a long series of Succession continued through XVI. Ages there never happened the least interruption.

[6] *Sine veritate doctrinæ successio Pastorum est exigui ponderis.* De verb. Dei lib. 4. cap. 9.

Thus much of the Notes singly. As for all taken together, it is manifest that even in our Adversaries opinion they cannot be certain; since they are found in the Greek Church. The Cardinal denies that of Antiquity, because the Church of *Constantinople* cannot demonstrate her claim of being founded by St. *Andrew*. Let it be. Certainly the Churches of *Hierusalem*, *Antioch*, *Ephesus*, *Corinth*, and *Athens*, which are parts of the Greek Church, were founded by Apostles, and the first even by Christ himself. Again the Cardinal denieth the Succession of the Greek Bishops; because their Patriarchs were heretical. But first, it matters not what the Patriarchs are, if the other Bishops be Orthodox. Secondly, this very thing may be brought against the Succession of Popes: for some of them have been condemned by General Councils. Lastly, if heresie interrupts succession; it will be no more certain that the Succession of Popes was never interrupted, than that no Pope was ever an Heretick. But how shall this be ascertained, especially to an Infidel

fidel, of whom we now treat, who may consider that many in the Church of *Rome* openly teach the contrary? To this may be added, That it is absurd in this case to pretend Heresy against the Succession of any Church. For that is the very thing now inquired by this Infidel, which Society of Christians is the true Church, and consequently, which of them are Hereticks or Schismaticks? This method therefore, can never certainly teach us, That the Church of *Rome* is the true Church.

CHAP. XXVI.

That it is uncertain, what the Universal Church believeth.

IF after all this we should grant, That our Adversaries may certainly know which is the true Church; it were yet to be inquired what this Church believeth. But how shall this be known? For first it doth not suffice to know what the greater or lesser part of the Universal Church believeth, unless we know what is the Faith of the whole. For our Adversaries confess, That the greater part of it may erre. So *Tostatus* answering to those, who from the Universal corruption of the translations of the Bible before S. *Hierom*'s time argued, That the whole Church then erred, replyed, That *all the Copies indeed of the Latin Church were corrupted, but in the Greek Church were preserved entire. Now*, saith he, [1] *the Latin Church is not the Universal Church, but only a part of it. Therefore, although that had wholly erred, the Universal Church would not have erred; because it remains in those parts which do not err, whether they be more or fewer in number than the parts which do err.* So Canus [2]. *Nothing hinders, but that the greater part of the Church may err.* Bannes [3]. *The Opinion of the greater*

[1] *Ecclesia autem Latinorum non est Ecclesia Universalis, sed quædam pars ejus. Ideo etiamsi tota ipsa erraret, non erraret Eccl. universalis, quia manet Eccl. universalis in partibus illis quæ non errant, sive illa sint plures numero quàm errantes, sive non.* Tost. in 2. Prol. Hier. in Matth. qu. 4.

[2] *At nihil obstat, cur major Ecclesiæ pars non erret.* Can. loc. Theol. lib. 5. cap. 5.

[3] *Sententia majoris partis Ecclesiæ potest esse falsa in materia fidei.* Bann. in 2. 2. qu. 1. art. 10. dub. 4.

part of the Church may be false in a matter of Faith. Valentia considering those words of Christ: *When the Son of Man comes, shall he find Faith upon the Earth?* saith [4], *He signifies that there will be very few Faithful in that last time, not that there will be none.* And *Bellarmin* [5] treating of the same words, saith with *Theophylact*, That *our Lord meaneth, there will be few Faithful in the times of Antichrist; not yet that there will be none, nor so few, as not to constitute a Church.*

[4] *Significat paucissimos certè fore postremo illo tempore fideles, non autem nullos.* Val. tom. 3. disp. 1. qu. 1. punct. 7. §. 16.

[5] *Non tamen nullos, nec tam paucos, ut non faciant Ecclesiam.* Bel. de Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 16.

Many Divines, and those of great name, (whose words we before produced) have gone farther, and maintained, That the true Faith, and true Church may be reduced to one only Woman. Nor doth *John Viguerius* a *Dominican*, Professor of Divinity in the University of *Tholouse*, differ much from them, teaching that Faith, at least explicit, may be preserved in one person, all the rest retaining only implicit Faith. *It may be said of the Church*, saith he [6], *that it may be preserved in one person, as it is said of the V.* Mary, *that in her only, during the three days of burial, remained explicit Faith, touching the Divinity of Christ; although many others in* Judea *might have actual and implicit Catholick Faith, but not explicit, of the Divinity of Christ.*

[6] *Sic potest dici de Ecclesiâ, quòd potest servari in uno, prout dicitur de Mariâ Virg. quòd in eâ solâ in triduo sepulturæ mansit fides explicita de divinitate Christi; quamvis multi alii per Judeam existentes habere possent fidem catholicam actualem & implicitam, non tamen explicitam, de divinitate Christi.* Vig. Instit. Theol. c. 10.

If either of these two Opinions be allowed, we must despair of ever knowing the Faith of the Universal Church. For where can be sought for, by what Notes can be found that Phœnix, that *Deucalion* of the Christian World, who alone retains explicit Faith, when all the rest have either erred, or preserved only implicit Faith? But be these Opinions true or false; the opposite of neither of them can be of Faith, as I before proved of the former; and of the latter may be hence proved, That this Book of *Viguerius* is approved by the Faculty of Divinity of *Paris*; which would never have been done, if it had been found to contain Heresie. However, let both be exploded, the other cannot be denied, That the greater part of the Church may err. Nay further, None ever yet dared to define,

ſine, how great that part of the Church muſt neceſſarily be, which cannot be infected with Error, without the ruin of the Infallibility of the whole. Unleſs therefore it appears, that the whole Church conſenteth, the belief of it cannot be a ſure Foundation for our Faith.

But firſt, the whole Church ſeldom or never conſenteth. Certainly never in all things. All things therefore can never be learned from her. Whence then ſhall they be learned? Beſides, where ſhe doth conſent, it is ſo obſcure, that it can be known by no Man. This is proved, and much more manifeſtly, by all thoſe Arguments which we brought againſt the certainty of knowing what all the Paſtors teach. For if it cannot be known what all the Paſtors teach; much leſs can it be known what all the Faithful believe; ſince there are far more Believers than Paſtors, and theſe teach more diſtinctly than the others believe. Beſide, it is not ſufficient to know what ſeemeth true to all the Faithful, unleſs it be alſo known what they all embrace as revealed by God. For our Adverſaries acknowledge there are many falſe Opinions of the whole Church. *Maldonat* [7] proveth this at large, and giveth ſome Examples of it. As, that the Church for many Ages uſed a Preface upon the Feſtival of St. *Hierom*, wherein ſhe extolled his pure Virginity, although St. *Hierom* in ſeveral places confeſſeth the contrary; for which reaſon the Preface was at laſt expunged; That for 600 years ſhe adminiſtred the Euchariſt to Infants; That ſhe worſhippeth particular Reliques of Saints, and prayeth for the Souls of particular Men in Purgatory, although it be not of Faith that thoſe Reliques are true, or theſe Souls in Purgatory, and the like; which proveth the neceſſity of knowing, not only what is held by the Univerſal Church, but whether it is held by her as of Faith, and revealed by God. But who ſhall aſcertain this? For the common ſort of Believers are not wont accurately to diſtinguiſh theſe things; ſo that if any one ſhould ask whomſoever he meets, What they admit as true, what as revealed, what they receive with Divine Faith, what with Catholick Opinion; he would find very few who could comprehend the Sence of his Queſtion; much fewer, who could anſwer him diſtinctly. So far ſhall we be therefore from knowing by this method what is believed in the Univerſal Church, that it can ſcarce be known what is believed in any ſingle Dioceſs.

[7] Apud Richer Hiſt. Concil. lib. 3. cap. 3.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

That it may justly be doubted, whether all those things be true, which the Universal Church believeth.

THere remains the third Reason of the impossibility of founding the Faith of all single Christians upon the belief of the Universal Church, the uncertainty of the truth of this Belief. For, suppose the Church of *Rome* to be the true Church, and that it is sufficiently known what she believeth: It is not yet manifest whether she believeth rightly. For a True Church is one thing, an Infallible Church another: Yet Infallible must that necessarily be, which is to us a certain Rule of Faith. Before all things therefore it is required to be known, that the Church is Infallible. But how shall this be known? Our Adversaries commonly say, It is known by Faith. But to this I oppose the Opinion of those Divines, who hold, That all Christians may fall from the Faith, except one single Woman. Hence I conclude, That the Infallibility of the Church cannot be of Faith, because repugnant to the Opinion of these Catholick Divines. Certainly we, who deny the Infallibility of the Church, go not so far as they. We believe that God preserveth to himself even in the most difficult times, *a remnant according to the election of Grace:* and that there always remains at least an Invisible Church, whose name being collective, cannot consist, and be restrained to one person.

Our Adversaries therefore cannot pretend their Opinion, as it is at this day proposed, to be of Faith: And so much the less, because they can assign no Foundation of this Faith. Not Scripture, Tradition, Decrees of Popes, Definitions of Councils, or Consent of Pastors. For first, I have proved in the preceding Discourse, That none of all these can be rely'd upon, at least according to our Adversaries Hypotheses; and then it is the constant Doctrine of Papists, That the Church is not believed for them, but they for the Church. Again it is certain, that the Infallibility of the Church cannot be believed

ieved for the Authority of the Church it ſelf. For that would be a manifeſt Circle; and he that doubteth whether the Church can err, doth for that very reaſon doubt whether ſhe doth not err, when ſhe thinks that ſhe cannot err. Therefore *Bannes* [t] ſaid truly, *That the Church is the Infallible rule of propoſing and explaining truths of Faith cannot be reduced to the Authority of the Church it ſelf; for that would be to prove the ſame thing by it ſelf.*

[t] *Non poteſt reduci ad authoritatem ipſius Eccleſiæ hoc enim eſſet idem per idem confirmare.* Bann. in 2. 2. qu. 1. art. 1. dub. 4.

Why then is it believed? Our Adverſaries commonly anſwer, That it is a thing before all others to be believed, and not for any other Rule; for then the ſame Queſtion would return about that Rule: And becauſe they commonly require three things to make up an Act of Faith. 1. The Teſtimony of God revealing, as the formal Reaſon and principal Foundation. 2. A Rule whereby this Revelation of God may be manifeſted. 3. Motives of Credibility which may induce us to be willing to believe; they think the firſt is here preſent, and the third abundantly to be had in the Notes of the Church, which are perceived and dictated by Natural Reaſon; but the ſecond wanting, which they pretend not to be neceſſary in a matter of firſt belief, ſuch as this is. But firſt, if a Rule be not requir'd in forming this firſt Act of Faith: Why is it neceſſary in others? Why may not all the other Articles be believed for the Authority of God by the inducement of Motives of Credibility, with which the Chriſtian Religion is abundantly furniſhed? Secondly, Which is chiefly to be regarded, it is abſurd to boaſt of a Teſtimony of God revealing, which no way can be known. The Infallibility of the Church, or any other Article of Belief can never be proved to have been revealed by God, but by ſome Rule either living or dead, whereby things revealed may be diſtinguiſhed from not revealed; otherwiſe the moſt fooliſh Opinion may intitle it ſelf to Revelation, and then cannot be rejected.

Here they fly to Motives of Credibility, and by them undertake to ſupply their defect of a Rule, and manifeſt the Revelation. But if theſe Motives can confer upon the Church ſo ſufficient an Authority, that what ſhe propoſeth as revealed by God, muſt be believed: Why may not the like Motives give the ſame Authority to the Scripture, and aſſure us of the Divine Original of it? And that ſuch Motives are not wanting

to

to the Scripture. *Bellarmin* [2], *Suarez* [3], *Duvall* [4], and *Martinius* [5] among many others expresly confess. Why may we not then by these Motives first be satisfied of the Authority of Scripture, and from thence learn all things necessary to Salvation, which are clearly contained in it; and be so saved without recurring to the Church?

Further, How is it gathered from these Notes and Motives of Credibility that the Church cannot err; whether evidently, certainly, and necessarily; or only obscurely, probably, and contingently? The first our Adversaries will never say; for then it would necessarily follow, That Faith is evident; which they all contend to be false; insomuch as *Bellarmin* [6] disputing of Miracles, the chief of these Motives, hath these words, *Before the Approbation of the Church it is not evident nor certain with the certainty of Faith of any Miracle, that it is a true one. And that it is not evident is manifest; for then Faith would be evident.* Besides, if these Notes evidently prove the Church cannot err, it would be most false, what our Adversaries before delivered with so great consent, that by these Notes the Church is not known as it hath an Infallible, but only as it hath an Humane and Fallible Authority. Lastly, They acknowledge, as we before shewed, That a manifest and convictive Argument cannot be deduced from one or more of these Notes, although fortified by the Authority of Scripture, if any one be wanting. How then will they afford evidence, when perceived by the sole light of Nature, and are much fewer? For they allow more Notes to be pointed out by Scripture, than taught by the light of Nature.

Do these Notes then only perswade probably? If so, I have gained what I was to prove. For then it will be only probable that the Church cannot err; and the Faith of Papists will have no certainty, as not exceeding probability. For whatsoever they believe, they believe either for the Testimony or for the Judgment of the Church; and so cannot be more certain, or evident than is the Infallibility of the Church in testifying and judging. Some to elude this, make a twofold evidence, *Physical* and *Moral*; and grant the Arguments of the Infallibility of the Church not to be Physically evident, but contend they are Morally. So especially *Ægidius Conink* [7]. But here in the first place, this manifest absurdity occurrs; That when they acknowledge these Arguments to be only Morally certain, they yet maintain Faith, which

[1] *De verbo Dei, lib. 1. cap. 2. De fide disp. 5. Sect. 2, 3.*

[4] *Duvall in 2.2. p. 120.*

[5] *De fide disp. 7. Sect. 1.*

[6] *Ante approbationem Ecclesiæ non est evidens aut certum certitudine fidei de ullo miraculo quòd sit verum miraculum. Et quidem quòd non sit evidens patet, quia tunc fides esset evidens.* Bell. de Eccles. l. 4. c. 14.

[7] *De actib. sup. disp. 2. dub. 2. num. 46. collat. cum dub. 3. num. 71, 72.*

which is founded ſolely upon them, to be Phyſically certain; for that degree of certainty all attribute to Divine Faith. Beſides it hence alſo appears, that this Moral Certainty doth not ſuffice; becauſe it is more than Morally, even Phyſically evident, that thoſe things are falſe, which the Church of *Rome* teacheth about the Euchariſt: For that the Euchariſt after Conſecration is ſtill Bread and Wine, is proved by innumerable Arguments of Phyſical Evidence, which conſequently can never be counterweighed, much leſs outweighed by Arguments of Moral Evidence, brought to prove the Infallibility of that Church which teacheth a contrary Opinion.

However it will not be amiſs to examine, whether the Arguments drawn from theſe Notes of the Church be morally evident, as is pretended. But firſt we muſt remove the Equivocation which lieth hid in this term. For it is uſed by the Schoolmen in a threefold Sence. Firſt therefore, many call that Morally Certain, which is ſo probable, that many Arguments perſwade it, but nothing inſinuates the leaſt ſuſpicion of the contrary. Secondly, Thoſe things are called Morally Certain; which to uſe *Bellarmin*'s words, are confirmed by ſo many Signs and Conjectures, as may exclude all Anxiety, but not all Diſtruſt. Thirdly, Thoſe things are moſt properly ſaid to be morally certain, *which are known by the common and unanimous teſtimony of a great multitude witneſſing a thing by them ſeen, which Teſtimony none contradicts*; as *Comink* [8] defines them. If our Adverſaries ſay the Arguments taken from the Notes of the Church are morally certain in the firſt or ſecond Sence; in the firſt place I deny it: For thoſe things only are morally certain in thoſe Sences, againſt which no contrary Arguments can be produced. For if any ſuch occurr, the Mind fluctuates, and can obtain no certainty. Now none can deny, that there are many at leaſt probable Arguments which perſwade, That the Church of *Rome* is not the true Church. Secondly, I aſſert, That neither of theſe Certainties will ſuffice. For they cannot, but in a looſe and improper Sence, be called Certainty. They are indeed meer probability, which may ſuffice in matters of Life and Action, where greater certainty cannot be had, but not in matters of Belief and Salvation, where the greateſt is required; whereas theſe may poſſibly be falſe, as is manifeſt in the Caſes of an Infant whether Baptized, or an Hoſt whether Conſecrated,

[8] *Quæ ex communi & concordi magna multitudinis rem viſam teſtantis teſtimonio, cui nemo contradicit, noſcuntur.* De actib. ſup. diſp. 11. dub. 1. num. 44.

which are commonly produced for Examples of the first and greatest of the two kinds of Moral Certainty. For both the Baptism of an Infant, and the Consecration of an Host, depending upon the Intention of the Priest, can never be certainly known to have been duly performed. For no Man can be ever speculatively certain of those things which can be false.

There remains then the third Sence; which I deny not to be sufficient, although it be not wholly consonant to the Doctrine of our Adversaries. But to pass by that, it is manifest, That here is no place for this kind of certainty; since it depends upon the Testimony of others so framed and circumstantiated, that it is altogether, at least morally impossible to deceive, or be deceived; as that *Cæsar* and *Alexander* formerly existed, as *Rome* and *Constantinople* do now; whereas Arguments drawn from Antiquity, Amplitude, Sanctity, &c. are of another kind, as being wholly artificial, and consequently most different from those which beget this Moral Certainty. Besides, there is none of these Notes, wherein the *Greek* Church may not equally glory with the *Latin*. Sanctity, Amplitude, Antiquity, and constancy of Martyrs none can deny to her. As for Miracles, the *Greeks* by the confession of the *Latins* have somewhat admirable, which is not to be found in the *Roman* Church. For *Lupus* [9] relates out of *Chr. Angelus* and *Leo Allatius*, that it is at this day most frequent among the *Greeks*, that the dead Bodies of Excommunicate Persons immediately after death, grow black, swell, and become very hard, nor can be dissolved before the Bishop gives them Absolution, which being once pronounced, they are reduced into Dust: *The Divine Goodness*, saith *Lupus*, *by these* [10] *Miracles comforting and confirming in the Faith, the poor Christians oppressed with the* Turkish *Tyranny*. In this Miracle four things may be observed. 1. That it is not only boasted by the *Greeks*, but also acknowledged by the *Latins*. 2. That it is an ordinary, and almost daily Miracle. 3. That it is annexed to the Episcopal Dignity, so as their Excommunication and Absolution hath a sensible and supernatural effect. 4. That it serveth not only to favour the Christian Religion professed by the *Greeks*, but also their private error. For as *Lupus* observeth, They imagine the Absolution given after death to be valid, and to deliver from the Torments of Hell it self; which seemeth to be confirmed by the sensible effect

[9] In Concil. tom. 5. p. 543.

[10] *Captivos sub Turcicâ tyrannide Christianos divina bonitas consolatur per talia miracula & in Evangelicâ fide confirmat.*

effect that immediately follows the Abſolution. What have the *Latins* like to this? Their pretended Miracles are not acknowledged by their Adverſaries, but rather convinced of falſity by them, and even by many of their own Communion; they are rare, not ordinary, nor annexed to any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity; and ſuch as, if they were true, ſerve to confirm only the Chriſtian Religion in general, not their own particular Tenets.

It is manifeſt therefore, That thoſe Arguments are not certain, which are deduced from the Notes of the Church; ſince, if they were ſo, they would demonſtrate, what our Adverſaries think to be falſe, That the *Greek* is the True and Infallible Church. This might be evidently evinced, if we conſidered each Note ſingly. But beſides that it is already accurately performed by our Reverend B. *Morton*. *Jo. Gerardus* and others, it ſeems not very neceſſary in this place. Here therefore I finiſh, and in one word conclude, That the Papiſts, who boaſt of having ſo many immovable Foundations of their Faith, have not ſo much as one which is ſolid; and that what they believe, they do it pertinaciouſly indeed, but neither certainly nor firmly.

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